

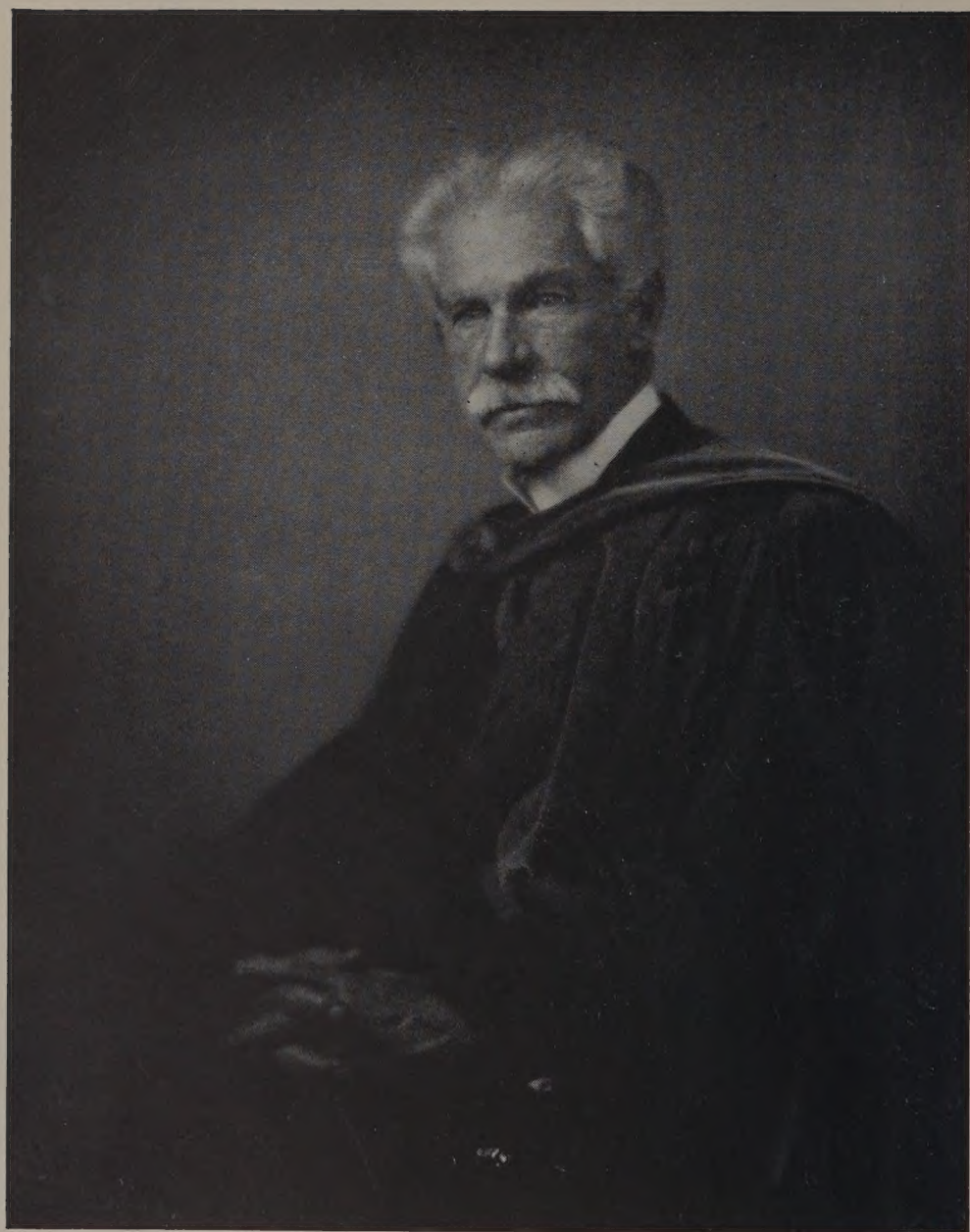
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Herbert Weir Smyth

ὦ ψυχὴ καθαρή, μακάρων ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἰοῦσα,
τόνδε δέκευ στέφανον πενθαλέοισ' ἐτάροις·
μνήμην ἀέναον σὺ κατοικομένη λίπες αὐτοῖς
θείης μὲν σοφίης ἢδ' ἀγανῆς φιλίας.

C. B. G.

Harriet Helen Smyth

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
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HERBERT WEIR SMYTH

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH was graduated from Swarthmore College at the head of his class with the degree of A.B. in the year 1876, and in the fall of that year he was admitted to the Junior class in Harvard College "with the condition of making up the Greek prose read for admission to the Freshman class." His experiences in this new world of Cambridge, intellectual, religious, social, were set down in a diary in which, in long hand for the most part, with stenographic supplements here and there, he recorded quite candidly the varying impressions his sensitive mind received. For the purposes of this review of his career as scholar, it is of interest to note his early response to the subject, Greek language and literature, to which he was destined, though at the time unaware of his fate, to devote his life.

In the first pertinent entry can be observed the paramount interest of his entire scholastic activity, the "word"; for under date of October 12, 1876 he expressed himself as follows: "I want to make a beautiful example of the relation of languages occurring in Greek class: the word was ἀαῖστοι (sic) from α and ἰδεῖν: it would be ἀναῖστοι were it not for the existence of the digamma φιδεῖν . . . whence video and the German wissen — to know. How striking the correlation of these tongues. Some may say there is no beauty in a thing like this, but to me there seems a charm which should lead me on further in my pursuit of knowledge." This concern of his with the word in and for itself is amply illustrated by other jottings: thus, under October 23: "Find that in Greek I can do as well as most of the rest by carefully looking out for all the etymologies: and thus counterbalancing my want of grammar."

Of the ultimate, then, in literary expression, the word, he began to feel a growing control, but of the relationship of word to word in a sentence he regretfully admitted his ignorance. Thus, he remarks under the day October 30: "I find Aeschylus . . . very entertaining and instructive. On derivations I am generally as quick as any one, but on grammar I ain't much. It will come in time I hope."

His interest in Aeschylus, which was to be an abiding concern, had been awakened then, but in that poet he found primarily at least only a verbal interest, as the entry of February 5, 1877 shows: "have now

read over the Prometheus twice and looked up almost all the derivations of which I am not certain." His ignorance of grammar, however, weighed heavily upon him: thus, January 15, 1877; "my grammar is lamentably deficient," and again, January 24, "I don't think I have had as good a classical training as 7/10 of the students here." But this discouragement was dispelled a month later, to judge by the triumphant declaration under February 26, "To think that I who have only studied Greek a year should have received 90."

It is rather extraordinary that he should have done so well; for his one year's study of Greek elsewhere had not fitted him to read authors so difficult as Aeschylus and Thucydides, from the latter of whom again and again he confessed his inability to extract the meaning of the Greek. The obstacles in his way were large (March 19, "Found my first attempt at Doric dialect very hard"), but his strong will and innate ability drove him on to final mastery of grammar and dialectology.

The intention which he had tentatively formed in his Senior year at Harvard of preparing himself for a professorship of Greek was put into effect, a year after his graduation in 1878, when he went to Germany to matriculate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the *Vita* of his published doctoral thesis he made the bare announcement that his inclination toward philology had been fostered by his Harvard instructors, Goodwin, Lane, and Anderson. But in the obituary notices which he prepared later in life for Goodwin he was more articulate. In an appreciative tribute to his master written for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences he declared: "Goodwin insisted on rigid accuracy in the understanding of the words of the text as the approach to the larger understanding of the thought — the only true method, if a vapid sentimental enthusiasm is not to be the goal of the appreciation of Greek, or of any other, literature." This ideal of classical scholarship, which he had either caught from Goodwin or had strongly developed in himself, remained unchanging throughout his academic life. It is the ideal that in his *Aeschylean Tragedy* he maintained was held by the ancient Greeks, the harmonious union of reason and emotion, and that he embodied in his dedicatory verses to William Watson Goodwin in the *Harvard Essays*,

οἷα γὰρ ἄμμιν ἔφαινες ἀεὶ παιδεύμασι Μουσῶν
ἀμφὶ τε κόσμον ἑπὼν ἀμφὶ τε σωφροσύνην.

And near the close of his life, more than half a century after his graduation from Harvard, he repeated this characterization of his old teacher and his own confession of faith in declaring that Goodwin "believed that without grammar there can be no true appreciation of literature," and again, "The intellectual spirit of scientific research in the field of grammar did not blunt his literary and artistic sense."

With these ideals in mind, of laying first a firm foundation in the study of the word as preparatory to a study of the thought, he entered on his studies at the University of Leipzig, where he spent three semesters under Ribbeck, Lange, Lipsius, Windisch, Brugmann, and Curtius to whom in particular he paid his thanks (*Vita*). Then, in April 1881, he moved on to Göttingen. Göttingen had been the resort of many Harvard men, such as Everett, Bancroft, Longfellow, Motley, and of his own teachers Lane and Goodwin. At the Georgia Augusta, where he spent five semesters, he had been under the instruction of such Greek scholars as Sauppe, Dilthey, Baumann, Bechtel, Kielhorn, and Fick, devoting himself here as at Leipzig to the whole field of classical philology, but with especial reference to Greek. In the summer of 1884, after a year spent at Williams College as instructor in Classics and Sanskrit, he returned to Göttingen and took his doctor's degree *cum laude*.

In his doctoral thesis, *Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen* (1884), an investigation designed to determine the age of portions of the Homeric poems, he proposed "on the basis of a complete collection of material the following law," to use his own words (*A J P*, VIII (1887), 225), "which has been accepted in some quarters in Germany: $\epsilon\bar{i}$ from $\epsilon\sigma\iota$ (not from $\epsilon\phi\iota$) is contracted to $\epsilon\bar{i}$ in Homer only when a short syllable precedes and follows this $\epsilon\iota$." His thesis was favorably received by reviewers as a valuable and welcome contribution not only to the study of Greek vocalism, especially the study of Homeric forms, but also to the scientific study of grammar.

Supplementary to the subject of this investigation was his next article (1885) on the reduction of $\epsilon\iota$ to \bar{i} in Homer, produced during the first year of his instructorship at The Johns Hopkins University. His aim was a more thorough investigation of the cases claimed by Gustav Meyer and others as examples of the monophthongization of $\epsilon\iota$, so far as they appear in the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Modify-

ing views of some few positions held in his doctoral thesis, he made out what he called a fair case against the assumption of the reduction of $\epsilon\iota$ to ι in adverbs from substantival stems, in the dative-locative case-ending, and he accepted as cases of monophthongization $-\tau\acute{\iota}$, $-\acute{\iota}\eta$, $-\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. His case was at least sufficiently fair to cause Gustav Meyer, who, it should be said, had meanwhile recognized the error of his own view of the reduction in Homer of $\epsilon\iota$ to $\acute{\iota}$, to make the necessary correction of statement in the new edition of his grammar.

Schooled in Germany by strict philological discipline and now in command of philological methods, Mr. Smyth devoted the eight following years to an intensive study of the dialects which was to culminate in the publication of his *Ionic Dialect* in 1894. He had, on his return from Germany, spent another year, 1884-85, at Williams College, reappointed to his former position, but in 1885 he was called to teach at The Johns Hopkins University. A portion of a letter from Professor Gildersleeve to President Gilman is worth quoting for its comment on Mr. Smyth's course on Greek dialects, — "an important province in which Dr. Smyth is already a distinguished specialist and promises to become a high authority. This course he instituted at my suggestion and I followed it myself during the session of 1885-86 with great interest. . . . Dr. Smyth's enthusiasm is contagious and his students, who are among my picked men, not only recognize the carefulness, thoroughness and wide reach of his instructions, but have been incited to individual research."

In his study of the Greek dialects he had become aware of the great advantage to be won from a study of inscriptions — he had made use of them in his doctoral thesis — and he maintained that dialectology and epigraphy must go hand in hand. His initial publication in this field, on the dialects of North Greece, broke new ground, covering an area that had not been systematically explored by the dialectologist and being the first attempt to present the vowel and consonantal systems of the dialect of Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Phthiotis, and of the dialect of the Aenianes. He showed that the dialect of Boeotia occupied a position intermediate between that of Thessaly and that of Lesbos, and that the Aeolisms of Locris and Phocis were not survivals of an Aeolo-Doric unity. The results of this investigation were, in his own words:

(1) The eastern part of North Greece was originally the abode of an Aeolic race whose dialect survived in Thessaly till the latest times. In Boeotia the incursion of a foreign Doric element was not so successfully resisted as in the case of Thessaly, and it is to the influence of this foreign element that we owe, both in Thessaly and Boeotia, the existence of Doric forms.

(2) The dialect of the extreme western part of North Greece is pure North Doric, and absolutely free from the contamination of Aeolisms.

(3) The dialects of Central North Greece are substantially North Doric in character; the Aeolisms which they contain are not survivals of an Aeolo-Doric period, but are purely adventitious.

(4) In the five cantons, Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, the canton of the Aenianes and Phthiotis there obtained at the period subject to our control but one "dialect."

From north-western Greece Mr. Smyth passed next to the easternmost boundary of the Greek world, to treat for the first time the dialect of Cyprus, and its correspondences in syntax and in form with the dialect of Arcadia. His purpose was to determine, on the basis of an examination of every word-form in the inscriptions, and also in many of the Hesychian glosses, the agreements or differences of Arcadian and Cyprian, and to make clear with greater precision than had yet been done their interrelations with other Greek dialects. He arrived at these results, to name the more important of them: that Arcadian and Cyprian were in closer touch than any other two Hellenic dialects, though with many points of divergence; that this dialect, Arcado-Cyprian, might possibly show stronger affiliations to the dialects akin to Aeolic than to any other, the connection of Arcadian with Aeolic being perhaps stronger than that of Cyprian with Aeolic (though he reached the negative result that a pan-Aeolic dialect had not been and perhaps never could be proved); finally, that the correspondences of Arcadian with Aeolic were after all insignificant, its Ionic proclivities, though few, being most pronounced and its Dorian aspect being strong and clear.

In 1887 the Clarendon Press of Oxford engaged him to prepare a work of about four hundred pages on the Greek dialects. At this same time he was writing several reviews of articles and of books and also translating Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains* for publication in

The Indian Antiquary. For his large work on the dialects he had in mind, from the beginning at least, a treatment of Ionic first of all, and in 1889 and 1891 he published two papers, preparatory to his subject, on the vowel-system of Ionic and on the digamma in post-Homeric Ionic. The need of a work on this dialect had come home to Mr. Smyth himself; for in a review (1892) of the *Kleine Schriften* of Ahrens, after pointing out that the German scholar's *De Graecae linguae dialectis* had held the field without a rival for nearly forty years, he added that a comprehensive treatise on Ionic still did not exist. Two years later (1894) appeared at the Clarendon Press *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects*, with the sub-title *Ionic*. The work is dedicated to Ahrens, whose pioneer work on the history of the Greek dialects had been published at Göttingen, and some of its inspiration at least had been due to Fick, one of Mr. Smyth's teachers at the Georgia Augusta. Though it had been his intention, Ahrens had not investigated Ionic: the field therefore was left open, and this book of Mr. Smyth's marks the first attempt at examining the Ionic dialect in its entirety, an honor assigned to it by European scholars.

Mr. Smyth admitted in his Preface the difficulties that lay in his path, the lack of minute studies on many aspects of the subject, and the imperfect state of the sources of information, — that is, the editions of the authors to be drawn upon were inadequate in respect of apparatus criticus, and the lexicons, ancient and modern, failed often to record the existence of even ordinary words. Though the book aimed to "combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied — the philological and the linguistic," he laid chief stress on the philological aspect, the determination of the forms and the place of the author in the history of the development of the dialect. He noticed as well the relations existing between the various styles of literary works and those between the language of artistic literature and that in the public and private documents as they appear in the inscriptions.

In a paragraph in the Preface, which in its temper reminds the reader of the chapters in the first book of Thucydides in which the historian set forth his idea of history, our author, with a similar regard for truth and for the exercise of mental sobriety in the endeavor to achieve it,

pointed out the limitation of his treatment. He was, he says, writing not a comparative grammar which would involve tracing forms back to the pre-Hellenic stage, except in rare instances, but rather a comparison of Ionic with other dialects, using especially Attic as the standard. He did not aim at completeness; hence he avoided a careful study of the Ionic dialect in Homer, first, because of the danger inherent in any attempt to separate Ionic from Aeolic, and then because of the availability of discussions in books already published. He accordingly devoted his attention to a tolerably complete study of the post-Homeric literature, the post-Homeric Ionic lyric in particular, and of the inscriptions. With the thought present that his book might be of profit to the student of Greek grammar, he took especial care to explain the difficult forms, with reference to articles and monographs not easily accessible; and, while frankly admitting his inability to form opinion on the basis of insufficient evidence, he offered criticism of existing theories. In his examination of the literary documents he saw the necessity of comparing the readings of the manuscripts. Conservative by nature and by training, he clung largely to the manuscript tradition; but he was not slow to perceive the worth of a later or inferior codex, nor slow to depart from the testimony of the manuscripts entirely, if in his opinion this evidence was erroneous.

The Introduction, which amounts to about one-fourth of the whole, deals with the three sources of our knowledge of the dialect, namely, the literary monuments, the inscriptions, and the grammarians, and then *inter alia* the determination of subdialects, the Ionic element in Greek lyric poetry, the iambic poets being regarded as the best exponents of the popular dialect, then the Ionisms of Attic tragedy and comedy, the relation of old Attic to Ionic, and finally pseudo-Ionism. A little less than a fourth of the work is given to phonology, and somewhat less than half to morphology.

It was a work of enormous labor, involving extensive knowledge and painstaking accuracy. In the vast multitude of minutiae the book contained it was possible for the critics to discover flaws here and there, sins of omission and commission, and also to indulge in vain regrets that the author had not seen fit to include a full treatment of syntax or to intimate that he might have taken a comparative view of the dialects. Nevertheless, it was regarded at home and abroad as the first

detailed and the most complete exposition of the subject and the basis of all future work in the history of the Ionic dialect.

As Ahrens had failed to complete his work on the Greek dialects, so Mr. Smyth, though intending this volume to be the first of a series to cover the entire field, never realized his aspiration. If one may judge by the publications which followed the *Ionic Dialect*, his interests were now shifting from linguistics to literature, from science to poetry, to Greek melic and tragedy, and to Aeschylus. One could justly apply to him the remark that he made in his memoir of John Henry Wright that he cherished an "ideal of a rational scholarship that held in just equilibrium minute but profitable research and imaginative sympathy with the highest achievements of the people whose literature, art and history he felt himself privileged to interpret." So Mr. Smyth turned to an interpretation of the spiritual qualities of the literature of Greece.

As early as the year 1888 he had been asked by Professor Drisler of Columbia College, editor of Harper's Classical Series, to edit the Greek lyric poets in a companion volume to Gildersleeve's *Pindar*. For some reason this plan was never executed, but the idea itself bore fruit in the publication in 1900 of the *Greek Melic Poets*, dedicated by him, then Professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr College, to his former colleague at The Johns Hopkins University, Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve. This book reveals a new aspect of the mind of Mr. Smyth. The publications of the fifteen-year period previously had been solely devoted to a study of the word, or even of its component element, the letter. In the late nineties he had produced three metrical studies, on anapaests in Greek tragedy and in Aeschylus, as well as an examination of the metrical value of a mute followed by a liquid in the Greek melic poets, studies which were praised by the German metrician Gleditsch. But though the word, in and for itself, had been, at least in the earlier part of his scholastic career, his foremost concern, his philosophic and aesthetic mind now led him to the study of the import of words, to pass from the formal to the artistic expression of thought. He had, with sure instinct, recognized the truth, too often disregarded, that verbal scholarship is essential to the study of poetry; for words make the poem, and diction is the most important element in a poetic style. The result of this later study is to be found in the admirable intro-

ductions to the poets in the *Greek Melic Poets*, and also in the lectures he was to deliver on Aeschylean tragedy.

The *Greek Melic Poets* is an anthology of the fragments of the poets of the classical period with a few additions from poets of a later age, an anthology that commanded the respect of German scholars as being superior to all German anthologies of the kind, and provoked their desire that one like it could be produced for the German student. In both text and commentary Mr. Smyth was at home. His thorough knowledge of the dialects empowered him to establish a satisfactory text, and occasionally he offered readings of his own. Though he designed the book for the younger student, he appeared to take for granted a knowledge of grammatical principles and an acquaintance with the dialects, so that in this respect the book is hardly adapted to the undergraduate. But the emphasis was not laid on the formal. His aim was interpretative rather than critical. It is the commentary upon which he spent his best efforts, and it is therein that he showed the richness of his mind. It was his desire to draw illustrative material for these fragments of human interest from the poets of Greece and Rome, to reveal, partially at least, their indebtedness to Homer, to show not so much imitation or coincidence as "the natural expression of the language of poetry in all ages." Moreover, through his extensive and appreciative knowledge of modern poetry he drew many an apposite illustration of the oneness of poetic thought. Seldom has a commentary on Greek poetry been so stimulating, rich, and rewarding. Mention should be made, too, of the long Introduction with its full account of melic poetry in general, of the detailed account of the particular kinds of the melic, and, not least, of the frequent happy captions to the fragments.

On his return to Harvard in 1901, after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century, to succeed Goodwin as Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, he might have thought back to his experiences as an undergraduate, to the successes, failures, and wistful longings he had set down in his diary. He had again come under the influence of what he called the Harvard tradition, which he had made manifest by his fastidious scholarship and by his understanding of the thought of the ancient Greeks. Professor Gildersleeve, in a letter of recommendation written in Mr. Smyth's behalf in the year 1888, had

prophetically characterized his abilities: "As a student of literature he has shown great enthusiasm and steadily widening vision, and while his special investigations cannot fail to give individuality and force to his teachings, he has made proof of his powers to interest those who are attracted by the larger aspects of Hellenic literature and art."

It is these larger aspects that now engaged his attention. Moved by a desire to render such abundant help to the incipient student of Greek as had not been forthcoming in his day, he became the editor of a Greek Series for Colleges and Schools in which he made provision not only for the tyro (and the *Brief Greek Syntax* is especially significant in view of Mr. Smyth's own shortcomings as expressed in his diary), but also for the more mature student in the volumes devoted to authors and departments. In the midst of this editorial activity, along with the writing of reviews, notices, memoirs, with the supervision of the production of the *Agamemnon* in the Harvard Stadium and the administrative duties of the Acting Deanship of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, he found occasion to issue four essays that are revelatory of his aesthetic and literary powers.

In the first, the address on the Greek language in its relation to the psychology of the ancient Greeks, given at the Congress of Arts and Sciences at the Universal Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, he offered an analysis of the intellectual and the emotional qualities of the Greeks on the basis of their language, which, to his thinking, exhibited the most complete expression of their national psychology. Utilizing first direct testimony, the opinion of the Romans on Greek character, he proceeded to use the phenomena of language as a reflection of that character; as, for example, his pointing at the relatively few words in Greek contrasted with the numerous words in Latin signifying persistence in effort, and his concluding that defective will-power lay at the root of much of the defect of Greek character.

In his Presidential Address before the American Philological Association on "Aspects of Greek Conservatism," he confronted the paradox of a society permeated with the spirit of change and yet respectful of tradition. After sketching the contributions of the Greek race to humanity, — an admirable statement of the achievements of Greece in the domain of the mind, in art, science, literature, philosophy, govern-

ment, — he showed the extraordinary rapidity of development of art and literature and the quick replacement of one set of ideas by another, in the passion for progress. Then, to redress the balance, he turned the shield and dwelt upon the forces which were “restrictive and regulative of the creation of new ideas modifying the full activity of the individual.”

No other article of his, it may be safe to say, reveals so clearly the philosophic bent of his mind, and it may be questioned whether within such limits as bound this essay there can be found a statement of the case more comprehensive and more provocative of thought.

There followed this Address, a few years later, the essay that he contributed to the volume, *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects*. Possessed of the Harvard tradition and of a personal conviction that the literatures of Greece and Rome should be studied together in order to understand the essential unity of ancient thought, he persuaded his colleagues in the Department to bear witness to this ideal by individual contributions. In the equal insistence that he laid on both Greek and Latin he was merely putting into practice a sentiment he had always held. “I read Latin as literature (namely in the summer vacation),” he said in a talk given in New York, “because I need it to interpret my Greek authors.” His contribution to this volume, which he edited, traced the Greek conception of immortality from the faltering and crude belief of Homer to its final and mature expression in Plato, showing how that conception was moulded in different ways by superstition, poetry, theology, mysticism, and philosophy. But this essay revealed more than the ancient Greek belief: it is a revelation too of his own deeply religious nature.

In this same year 1912 he was invited to give one of the lectures delivered at Columbia University on Greek Literature. His subject, “Epic Poetry in Greek Literature,” was one with which he had long been familiar. The reading of Pope’s *Iliad* in his Junior year at Swarthmore had inspired him with a love for Homer. His dialectal studies and his reviews of books dealing with that epic poet had kept him always in close touch with Homeric scholarship. He is concerned now, however, with the question of the universality and permanent value of the Greek Epic, stirred by his profession of faith, as expressed in this lecture, that the “scholar must be the most searching of critics

and at the same time preserve undisturbed another self that is able to estimate larger literary values and especially the unity of moral situation." In his account of the ancient appreciation of Homer and the use of him by both the ancients and the moderns, Mr. Smyth makes clear in their most favorable aspect his critical abilities, in the sureness with which he selects the permanent values of Homer and the qualities of his style, and attests his wide acquaintance with modern literature, French, German, Italian, and English; but above all shines clear his own love of poetry. And a trait of his own style is obvious too, — one in which his own philosophical cast of mind, after dwelling long on an idea, reduces it often to the form of a gnomic utterance.

In the following year 1913 appeared the first of his Aeschylean studies, the beginning of a subject that was to absorb his interest until his death. But before a discussion of his works on Aeschylus, it is necessary to record the publication of his two Greek Grammars. A remark of Mr. Smyth's, to be found in his obituary notice of Professor Goodwin, is not out of place at this point: Goodwin, he declared, "had taken to heart, perhaps unconsciously, the saying of the great Godfried Hermann, that without grammar there can be no appreciation of literature." The first of the Grammars published appeared in the Greek Series and was designed to be an aid both to students using a Greek grammar for the first time and to undergraduates in the earlier stage of their study of Greek literature. In one respect it differed from previous elementary Greek grammars in giving "greater importance to exact explanation of phonetic and morphological changes," a phase of grammar that Mr. Smyth rightly stressed.

The second Grammar, that for Colleges, though planned to be in general like the earlier Grammar, is much enlarged, containing nearly three hundred pages more. Again, in this descriptive grammar the author devoted his attention particularly to morphology, supplementing the former book by an extended treatment of the particles and by a concise exposition of some grammatical and rhetorical figures. In this single volume, the most complete Greek Grammar ever published in America, resembling, as a reviewer said, "Goodwin's two books, *Greek Grammar* and *Greek Modes and Tenses*, and Monro's *Homeric Grammar* all in one," there is a comprehensive and detailed exposition of the subject perhaps not excelled in any other single book of this

kind. The student of Greek grammar will again and again find brief statements which set forth with exemplary clarity and precision the results of investigations pursued by the author and by other scholars, though he will regret that Mr. Smyth did not include a treatment of Greek metres. It is a masterly work of thorough scholarship and painstaking care, the culmination of his many dialectal and grammatical studies, and an achievement which he could have viewed with satisfaction, if he ever recalled the despondent entry in the diary, kept in his undergraduate career at Harvard, "On grammar I ain't much." But it is well to observe a statement made by him in the Preface of this work. Fearing that the amplification of this grammar over his shorter grammar might lead to the drawing of false inferences about his own attitude, he expressed the hope that he should be thought not to advocate "the study of formal grammar as an end in itself," but to hold that an exact knowledge of the language is a prerequisite to the understanding of the literature.

From grammar he turned to his favorite poet Aeschylus, or rather returned; for, as has been said, in his article of 1913 he gave notice of a paper that would give in detail all necessary information for the textual critic and that should include the first mention of manuscripts containing only the *Persians*, *Septem*, *Prometheus*. He had announced his intention of preparing a text of Aeschylus, and in this study of the manuscript tradition he was laying his foundation therefor. The paper was not published until twenty years later and proved to be his last complete work. The Catalogue of Manuscripts, the first to appear since the list made by Schneider in his edition of the *Prometheus* (1834) is, as Mr. Smyth was free to admit, "only an approximate realization of an ideal — an absolutely complete list of the manuscripts of Aeschylus." But he found himself impeded in the accomplishment of this ideal by the still incomplete publication of catalogues of libraries and by the difficulties that lay in the way of frequent journeyings to Europe. In another particular, too, his hope was frustrated, namely of giving a full description of every manuscript. Despite these shortcomings he itemized some hundred and twenty manuscripts containing one or more dramas or fragments of the poet. In preparing this list he had a twofold purpose: first, to enumerate with tolerable completeness the extant manuscript sources, and second, a larger

view, in the "unconquerable hope" that in the future a comprehensive history might be composed of the influence of Hellenism in all its manifold manifestations, from the earliest to the latest times, to offer a record, imperfect though it might be, that might contribute something of value. The catalogue itself and the long discussion of the manuscript tradition of Aeschylus are an invaluable aid to the student.

Two supplementary works were issued before the publication of his Loeb edition of the poet. The one was a collection of unlisted fragments, with occasional comments, that had appeared since the publication of the second edition of Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* in 1889, and these he incorporated in the second volume of the Loeb translation. The other was the publication of the Commentary on the *Prometheus* in the Codex Neapolitanus. In including all the glosses in this manuscript, useless and futile as many are, he was led by his interest in diction. He thought that such a collection might be of value to a student of the history of Greek lexicography, a subject which, at the time of the preparation of this article, happened to be of much interest. Again there is manifest here, as in an earlier, and what was to prove a later, subject of study on his part, the feeling that such glosses are "of value in the study of the relation of the vocabulary of prose to that of poetry." This onerous and tiresome task of transcribing this manuscript had for him another value, namely, the possible use to which it might be put in determining the interrelation of codices of different periods. What induced Mr. Smyth to concern himself with this late and inferior manuscript was the fact that it was unique in presenting in clearly distinguishable form the commentaries of Thomas Magister and of Triclinius, and that it enabled the scholar to form some estimate of Aeschylean scholarship at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It likewise piqued the curiosity of Mr. Smyth; for it might have been written by Triclinius himself, a question which he hoped to discuss on another occasion. He was firm in his belief in the value of the later manuscripts, and in the discussion in this article he declared for the derivation of the later scholia from an "ultimate source from which the scholia of M were themselves derived."

These initial studies on the text had well prepared him for his next

task, the text and the translation of Aeschylus for the Loeb Library. The text itself is sane and conservative, "more conservative than many another editor's," as he remarked in his *Aeschylean Tragedy*, and, as Paul Shorey declared in a review, "a more reasonable text than that of Wilamowitz." Gilbert Murray, in the Preface of his recent text-edition of Aeschylus, indirectly refers to it in calling Mr. Smyth ἀνὴρ Ἑλληνικώτατος. In the independent constitution of the text, in the full critical apparatus, and in the collection of fragments these two volumes rank above many other volumes in this Library.

The translation is in prose, the diction being a happy compromise between plain and poetical language. His ideal of a translation had been expressed in the memoir he composed for Samuel Henry Butcher. He praised Butcher's translation of the *Odyssey* as "a model for future translators of Homer who realize that only in prose can the plain meaning of the original be adequately set forth, and that only in a prose of a somewhat antiquated flavor, with a diction suggestive of the language of the English Bible, can the simplicity, the nobility, and the dignity, though not the impetuosity, of the Greek epic be rendered." Holding this ideal before himself, Mr. Smyth was wont to steep his mind in the King James version and in the Elizabethan dramatists immediately before beginning to turn his author into English.

The translation completed, he had in view for his next effort a study, to be published by Harvard University at some future date, of the Mind and Art of Aeschylus, for which the lectures which he delivered as Sather Professor in the University of California in 1923 were to serve as an introduction. These lectures, published under the title *Aeschylean Tragedy*, contain an Introduction and a chapter devoted to each of the extant plays. Limiting his theme to the art of the poet, with, therefore, little reference to his predecessors or successors, or to the vexed question of the origin of tragedy or its early history, he concerned himself with the consideration of the genius of Aeschylus in its development and with his progress in dramatic art.

To him Aeschylean drama was the spectacle of a "conflict of will against obstacles internal or external presenting a series of crises culminating in a supreme crisis: it seeks to find peace for the soul troubled by the spectacle of limitless capacity for good involved in

limitless ruin." And the theme of Greek tragedy is generally "such defects of character as cause exceptional calamities, ruinous to men who face a cruel choice; in Aeschylean tragedy this ruin involves not only the individual but also his descendants, whole families, and even entire nations." In the chapters on the separate plays he analyses the plot, gives a brief discussion of the mythological substratum, discusses character (capital is the study of Clytemnestra) and significant ideas, as the admirable discussion of the meaning of Fate in the *Septem*, and he is always mindful of the dramatic art itself. His admiration for the poet is great and sincere, but it is only right to let him speak for himself in the words that close the Introduction, words that are virtually his valedictory. "Not that I have fathomed the depth of the riches of his mind and art. But I count myself happy to have lived long enough to have tried to discover their meaning for human life. For it is worth while to live if only one may catch some reflection of the splendor and the nobility and the majesty of the thought, clothed in the imperial vesture of a sovereign style, voiced in the solemn cadences of harmonious rhythm, that mark the work of Euphorion's son, first of the three greatest religious poets of the world."

To the searching mind of Mr. Smyth, thought in all its aspects made constant and effective appeal. His intellectual interests were not confined to a single subject: in the fifty years of his scholarly career he had penetrated the fields of linguistics, dialectology, epigraphy, Sanskrit, Greek grammar, palaeography, and manuscript tradition: he had ranged widely over the domains of literature, ancient and modern, of philosophy, and of history. But his chief interest, perhaps, was in the expression of thought itself. His retentive memory enabled him in his appreciation of literature to add the apt illustration drawn from sources in both the ancient and the modern world, and his own comments on his material are couched in a style for the most part Latin in derivation, a reflex of the English prose and verse of the seventeenth century in which he had imbued his mind.

In the years which followed his retirement from active service, he continued his study of the Athenian dramatist, devoting himself chiefly to a consideration of the poetic diction of that author. The investigations of his earlier years had centered his attention upon language, but a note in his *Ionic Dialect* (p. 31, n. 1) reveals his obser-

vation of the difference existing between the poetic and the dialectal word. As early as 1887 he had published an article on poetical words in Cyprian prose, and in the notes to be found in his *Greek Melic Poets* this growing interest of his in the poets' use of words is clearly indicated. Almost his last paper, the one read before the American Philological Association in 1929, was on the subject, Poetic Diction in Aeschylus, and in the thousands of notes which he left behind at his death can be found many a list of words illustrating the poetical vocabulary of the dramatist. These notes, however, are in such a fragmentary state that they are, to adopt his own figure in the Preface to his *Greek Melic Poets*, "only broken columns and ruined architraves."

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EURIPIDES AND THUCYDIDES

BY JOHN H. FINLEY, JR.

I

EDITORS have noted, and readers must often feel, resemblances of thought and expression between Euripides' tragedies and the History of Thucydides. No extant Euripidean play, except the *Cyclops*, fails to present many such. Nor is the fact surprising. The two men lived for some years in the same city, surveyed throughout their lives the same march of events, and felt the force of the same rhetorical and speculative movements. It is true that Thucydides was in exile from Athens after 424; how old he was at the time is not known. Even if he was a comparatively young man, still he had passed the formative years of his life in the city, and his own statement (I 1) leads us to believe that he elaborated much in exile that he had conceived at home. It is possible that he later met Euripides at the court of Archelaus.¹ So much is at least implied in the doubtful tradition that he wrote the well known epitaph in the poet's honor.²

It is not difficult then to understand why resemblances should exist in the works of the two men. What those resemblances mean and what can be learned from them are questions which present, on the other hand, great difficulties. It is not my purpose here to treat all of the subject, interesting and profitable as it might be to study each man in the light of his agreements with the other. Rather, I have collected relevant passages in the plays and fragments merely for their use in studying the History.³ What will be said of Euripides will be said, therefore, for the exclusive purpose of illuminating the outlook and method of his contemporary.

¹ In Marcellinus, 29-30, Thucydides is mentioned with Archelaus and authors known to have been at his court, although not with Euripides. Cf. R. Hirzel, "Die Thukydideslegende," *Hermes* XIII (1878), 46-49.

² *Anth. Pal.* VII, 45; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* V, 187e; *Vita Eur.* 40, where Timotheus is also given as author.

³ I have used for Thucydides the edition of H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1898; for Euripides, the second edition of Gilbert Murray, Oxford, 1913; for the fragments, A. Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², Leipzig, 1926.

It will be well to state at the start what problems in the interpretation of Thucydides a comparison with Euripides might help to clarify. The essential problem might be stated thus: if Thucydides, as the newest studies argue, composed his work as a unit in the years about 404 (or to put the matter in another way, if it is extremely difficult to show that any large part of his work was composed many years earlier),¹ and if, in addition, he meant by the famous sentence in I 22, 1 that neither in form nor in expression were his speeches intended to be close copies of speeches actually delivered,² then what means have we of judging how far he reflects ideas and forms of expression current in Athens as early as 431? The question is important; our whole concept of the intellectual temper of Periclean Athens would be affected if we failed to believe that the speeches in the first and second books, or anything like them, could have been delivered at the start of the war. Yet that view has in effect been upheld. Great weight has, for instance, been placed on the influence of Gorgias on Attic prose after his arrival in Athens in 427, and his figure has loomed so large that prose before his time has been thought to be undeveloped. Yet he came to Athens two years after the death of Pericles. Again, Wilamowitz saw in the Peloponnesian War itself the stimulus that gave rise to political thinking.³ Is then the developed political thought of Thucydides, nowhere more apparent than in the speeches of the first two books, anachronistic in the period from which it purports to emanate? Finally, our knowledge of political oratory in the Periclean age is so slight and the piety of Sophocles and Herodotus so imposing, that we are slow to believe that anything like the rhetoric or the rationalism of Thucydides can have flourished at that time. And yet we know of Pericles' intimacy with such men as Protagoras, Anaxagoras, and Damon, and feel

¹ Harald Patzer, "Das Problem der Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides und die thukydideische Frage," *Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt. Klass. Phil.*, Berlin, 1937. But it is unnecessary to reopen here the complex controversy on when Thucydides composed his History. Even the advocates of an earlier version admit that much of the work which we have was written after 404.

² August Grosskinsky, "Das Programm des Thukydides," *Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt. Klass. Phil.*, Berlin, 1936.

³ *Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin, 1893, I, 176.

that so great an upheaval as that caused by the rise of democratic Athens cannot have been unattended by either political theory or political rhetoric.

A comparison between Euripides¹ and Thucydides might therefore give some insight into the question how faithfully Thucydides represents the thought of the years which he describes. For if ideas or forms of argument which the latter puts into the mouths of his speakers appear likewise in the tragedies of Euripides, then it is apparent, not of course that the speakers actually used those ideas or arguments, but that they could have, and that Thucydides is therefore giving a possible picture of men's attitude towards events some of which took place more than a quarter of a century before he himself, in all probability, wrote. Some such accuracy he certainly claimed for his speeches in the well known phrase (I 22, 1), ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, and again when he remarks of Pericles' first speech (I 145), καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ, καθ' ἕκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν. The close correspondence, likewise, which has been noted between the pseudo-Xenophontic 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία² and the speeches of Pericles shows that, in a few cases at least, Thucydides attributes to the statesman ideas which were apparently commonplaces in the contemporary discussion of democracy and which, as such, Pericles must have known. If Euripides offers further resemblances of the same kind, then these should give

¹ Relevant passages of Sophocles will also be adduced, but since he was less affected than Euripides by the sophistic movement and, as a dramatist, was less addicted to discussing topics of the day, his plays offer fewer parallels to the History.

² W. Nestle, "Thukydides und die Sophistik," *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum*, XXXIII (1914), 649-681, and F. Taeger, *Thukydides*, Stuttgart, 1925, 174-188. The comparable passages are: on naval power, II 62, 1-3 (cf. I 143, 3-144, 1; II 65, 7), *Ath. Pol.* 2, 2-6; on the advantages to Athens of being an island, I 143, 5, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 14; on trade, II 38, 2, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 7 and 11; on festivals, II 38, 1, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 9; on free election to office in a democracy, II 37, 1, *Ath. Pol.* 1, 2-3; on the ἐμπειρία of Athenians as sailors, I 142, 6-143, 2 (cf. I 80, 4; 121, 4; VI 68, 2; 69, 1; VII 21, 3), *Ath. Pol.* 1, 19-20; on litigation at Athens, I 77, *Ath. Pol.* 1, 16-18; on the tendency of the δῆμος to blame its leaders, I 140, 1; II 64, 1, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 17; on the allies, II 13, 2, *Ath. Pol.* 1, 14-15; on the wealth of Athens, I 142, 1; II 13, *Ath. Pol.* 2, 11.

further proof that the historian at the end of the century is not entirely rephrasing in his own way what he conceived to have been the issues of the past, but that he does in fact keep the echo of ideas and arguments once used when those issues were before men. Similarly, resemblances in thought between the early plays of Euripides and parts of the History other than the speeches would suggest that the historian was himself influenced by ideas current in Athens before his exile.

But another consideration presents itself to anyone who tries to appraise resemblances in Greek literature, the question, namely, of traditional language. Where similarities exist, it may well be the case that one author is not imitating another nor even that both are following a common source, but that they are independently using conventional expressions. Now formal argumentation must have been the rule in the rhetoric of the fifth century. Antiphon repeats himself word for word in different speeches;¹ Aristotle says of Gorgias and the early sophists that they provided their pupils with a limited stock of fixed arguments to be used as the occasion demanded;² only with Plato's *Phaedrus*, the *Περὶ Σοφιστῶν* of Alcidamas, and Isocrates' *Κατὰ Σοφιστῶν* (XIII) is the formal method of the earlier rhetoric seriously questioned.³ Thus there is reason to believe that not only Thucydides in his speeches

¹ V 14 = VI 2; V 88-89 = VI 5-6. O. Navarre, who sees in the Tetralogies of Antiphon a rhetorical *Τέχνη*, characterizes its method as "rebaissant l'art de plaider à une tâche presque mécanique." He concludes, "le travail d'invention personnelle se trouvait restreint au strict minimum" (*Essai sur la Rhétorique Grecque*, Paris, 1900, 153). Cf. F. Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*,² Leipzig, 1887, I, 121.

² *Soph. Elench.* 34, 183b 36. The passage is quoted below, p. 55.

³ The three works differ in their exact import. Alcidamas advances reasons why the memorizing of prepared arguments gives insufficient training for actual speaking; in § 31, he refers to his own extempore speeches as unusual to his audiences. Isocrates, who likewise ridicules the use of fixed arguments (XIII 10 and 12), judiciously states that oratory demands not only natural gifts but practice and theoretical training (XIII 14-15; cf. Navarre, *op. cit.*, 187-207). Plato attacks the older rhetoric on far more philosophical grounds when he says that it fails to depend primarily on logical analysis (*Phaedrus* 265d-266b), and that hence it is repetitious (236a-b) and lacks order and unity (264b-c).

but the original speakers whom he alleges to quote conceived of oratory as following certain fixed rules and using certain lines of argument, more or less well known. It is striking that when he says of his speakers (I 22, 1) that he has had them τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, he is using exactly the words with which Socrates in the *Phaedrus* (234e 6) characterizes the older type of argumentation — ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰρηκότος. And similarly, the rhetoric by which Euripides was influenced must have been of the same formal type. When then Thucydides and Euripides set forth similar ideas, it is a very possible deduction that neither of them is primarily imitating some well known rhetorician or orator, but on the contrary, like all men who concerned themselves with speaking, they are merely following the customary rules of rhetoric. In resemblances between the two one would thus be dealing with the tools, as it were, of fifth-century oratory.

Such considerations cast an interesting light on the speeches of Thucydides. It must never, of course, be forgotten that these are without exception the product of his own style, that they are so intimately tied to one another by cross-references as to play a vital and progressive part in his history, and that they are much more compressed than actual speeches would have been. Still, once it be admitted that oratory in the fifth century was conventional, it becomes possible to say that the speeches of Thucydides are his own and yet to contend that they reflect types of thought and of argumentation widely used among his contemporaries. The chief objection to such a line of argument would be based on the view of Wilamowitz cited above: namely, that both rhetoric and political theory developed so fast during the Peloponnesian War that Thucydides actually attributes an anachronistic skill and intellectuality to his speakers. But it is just here that the utility of comparisons with Euripides appears. If he can be shown to use, even in his early plays, forms of conventional argumentation similar to those attributed by Thucydides to his speakers, then we should be justified in considering the latter's speeches as representative of the oratory commonly known even as early as at the outbreak of the war.

Resemblances therefore between Euripides and Thucydides

might indicate: first, that the historian was himself influenced by ideas current in Athens before his exile;

then, that he attributes to his speakers ideas and arguments familiar at the time when he represents them as speaking;

finally, that both authors reflect a common rhetorical tradition which can only be thought of as well known in Athens and, therefore, as the common ground between Thucydides and the men whom he represents as speaking.

II

But before approaching the main subject, one should speak briefly of the dates of Euripides' plays, since the following argument will often turn on chronology. The earliest known tragedy is the *Peliades* of 455 (*Vita Eur.* 33); the earliest extant play the *Alcestis* of 438, produced as the fourth of a tetralogy consisting of the *Cressae*, *Alcmeon in Psophis*, and *Telephus* (*Arg. Alc.*). Next is the *Medea* of 431, produced with the *Philoctetes*, *Dictys*, and *Theristae*, a satyr play (*Arg. Med.*). These tragedies then appeared before the outbreak of the war, and to them must be added the *Hippolytus Kaluptomenos*¹ and doubtless some, although we do not know which, of the plays mentioned in *Acharnians*, 418-434, namely, the *Oeneus*, *Phoenix*, *Bellerophon*, *Thyestes*, and *Ino* (I omit the *Telephus* and *Philoctetes*, already mentioned). The only dated play during the Archidamian War is the *Hippolytus* of 428 (*Arg. Hipp.*), but the *Heraclidae* was probably produced shortly after its outbreak and the *Andromache* and *Hecuba* a few years later.² Near the close of the war appeared the *Erechtheus*;³ the *Suppliants* followed the Peace of Nicias, either directly or, as seems

¹ M. Pohlenz, *Die Griechische Tragödie*, Leipzig, 1930, 258.

² Cf. the chronological notes on these plays in Murray's edition; also the introductions to the same in the edition of L. Méridier ("Collections des Universités de France," Paris, I, 1925; II, 1927), I, 195; II, 106 and 179.

³ Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Herakles*² (Berlin, 1933), 134, and L. Parmentier and H. Gregoire, *Euripide* (a continuation of the edition of L. Méridier, noted above; III, 1923; IV, 1925), III, 98.

more probable, in 420 or 419.¹ The *Heracles*, dated by Wilamowitz shortly after the *Suppliants*,² has been placed by Zielinski on metrical grounds with what he calls the plays of the free style, composed after 415.³ He ascribes the *Ion* to the same group,⁴ although historical references in the play seem to point to the year 418.⁵ No doubt attaches at least to the tetralogy of 415, the *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, *Trojan Women*, and *Sisyphus* (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II 8). The order then seems with some certainty to be, *Iphigenia among the Taurians* 414-413, *Electra* 413, *Helen* and *Andromeda* 412.⁶ The *Phoenissae* was probably produced in 409, perhaps in the same tetralogy with the *Hypsipyle* and *Antiope*,⁷ the *Orestes* following in the next year. Finally, the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Alcmeon in Corinth*, and *Bacchae* were produced after the poet's death (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 64), the first suffering then or later many additions.⁸

This list, it need hardly be said, is incomplete, and it does far less than justice to many problems of date and order. It is given for convenience and largely to remind the reader what plays were produced before and during the Archidamian War. For most of these go back to the years when Thucydides knew Athens and give evidence for the thought of the times. I turn now to the parallels between the two authors, treating them by the books of the History.

Euripides echoes a few of the facts cited by the historian in the Archaeology: that the Athenians, unlike other peoples, had always inhabited their country (I 2, 5-6. *Erech.* fg. 360; *Ion* 589-593, 673), that they had settled Ionia (I 2, 6. *Ion* 1578-1588), and that in early times the sons of Hellen had been called in to assist states

¹ The earlier date is advocated by Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, and by Parmentier and Gregoire, *loc. cit.* The argument in favor of the later date, in my opinion very strong (see below, p. 54), is set forth by G. H. Macurdy, *The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides* (Columbia Dissertation, 1905), 55.

² *Op. cit.*, 135.

³ *Tragodumenon, Libri Tres*, Cracoviae, 1925, 185.

⁴ So also Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, *Erläuterungen*, 123.

⁵ Parmentier and Gregoire, *op. cit.*, III, 168.

⁶ See the chronological notes in Murray's edition.

⁷ J. U. Powell, *The Phoenissae of Euripides*, London, 1911, 34-38.

⁸ D. L. Page, *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford, 1934.

(I 3, 2. *Ion* 59-64). Far more instructive is it that Thucydides' method of using τεκμήρια to establish uncertain events (I 1, 3; 20, 1; 21, 1) is described in a line of the *Phoenix* (fg. 811),¹

τάφανῇ τεκμηρίοισιν εἰκότως ἀλίσκεται.

The method, closely allied as it is to the rhetorical principle of εἰκός elaborated by the Sicilians Corax and Tisias, may have become known in Athens through Protagoras who visited Sicily and went as a law-giver to Thurii in 443.² The latter principle is, at all events, well illustrated in another fragment of the *Phoenix* (fg. 812) which, after stating that you can judge a man by observing his φύσις and his way of life, concludes

τοιούτός ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἥδεται Ξυνών.³

It is hardly necessary to point out how greatly Thucydides relies on these principles of τεκμήρια and εἰκός when he deduces a course of history from Homer's description of men's habits in former times.⁴ And although it is only in a late play (*Archelaus* fg. 261) that Euripides expresses in so many words what is perhaps the fundamental law of the Archaeology, namely, that the strong control the weak for their mutual advantage, his early plays abound in ideas of a similar cast. One might cite the remark of the Paedagogus which sets the whole tone of Jason's character in the *Medea* (85-86),

ἄρτι γιγνώσκεις τόδε,
ὥς πᾶς τις αὐτὸν τοῦ πέλας μᾶλλον φιλεῖ,⁵

¹ See also the saying of Pericles, quoted below, p. 68. J. T. Lees (*Δικανικὸς Λόγος in Euripides*, Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1891, 41) gives the following passages as illustrating Euripides' use of τεκμήρια: *Alc.* 634, 653; *Andr.* 677; *Elec.* 1041, 1086; *Hec.* 1206; *Hel.* 920; *Hcld.* 142; *I. A.* 1185; *Tro.* 961, 962, 970.

² Navarre, *Rhétorique Grecque*, 21-23.

³ J. T. Lees, *loc. cit.*, cites the use of the argument from εἰκός in the following passages: *Bacch.* 288; *Elec.* 947, 1036; *Hec.* 271, 282, 1207; *Her.* 1314; *Ion* 594-611; *Hipp.* 1008; *Orest.* 532.

⁴ E. Täubler, *Die Archaeologie des Thukydides*, Leipzig, 1927, 103-107.

⁵ Cf. I 8, 3 where it is said that the strong and the weak made common cause in early times, both equally ἐφιέμενοι τῶν κερδῶν.

or the lines from what is probably an even earlier play (*Hipp. Kal.* fg. 434),

οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν αἱ θνητῶν τύχαι,
τολμήμασιν δὲ καὶ χερῶν ὑπερβολαῖς
ἀλίσκεται τε πάντα καὶ θηρεύεται.

These ideas, although not identical with those expounded in the *Archaeology*, reflect at least the same realistic attitude towards human motives.

When in I 20-23 the historian criticizes his predecessors, states the methods and aims of his own work, and contrasts the latent with the superficial causes of the war, he again touches the thought of Euripides in several ways. The latter's criticism of Aeschylus is well known (*Elec.* 524-544, *Suppl.* 846-857, *Phoen.* 751-752), but it is worth observing that in the first of these passages he finds fault with his predecessor's criteria and, in the second, states the extreme difficulty of learning what takes place in the course of a battle — ideas to which Thucydides gave a special and quite technical importance. There can be no question of influence here; Euripides is merely expressing in small details that critical and rationalistic spirit which he reveals in far more searching ways in such characters as Pheres, Jason, and Electra. All the more then do these detailed resemblances in the thought of the two men appear to reflect a more wide-spread rationalism which, since it is evident in the poet's early plays, must not be considered as resulting from the war alone. The well known statement of Sophocles in which he contrasted his art with that of his younger rival (*Arist. Poet.* 25, 1460b 33) could, in fact, have been said almost as appropriately by Herodotus of Thucydides. When it is remembered that that contrast applies entirely to what we know of Euripides' early plays, then it seems at least possible that Thucydides also acquired his critical and innovating outlook before the beginning of the war when, he says (I 1), he already thought of writing his *History*.

The cyclic view of life by which Thucydides justifies the usefulness of his book appears likewise in the *Ino* (fg. 415), but a more important resemblance to the thought of I 22 is suggested by what

the historian says there of his speeches. He remarks that he has caused his speakers to express especially what in his own opinion would be demanded under the successive circumstances, while at the same time he has kept as close as possible to the general import of what was actually said. When one turns to the speeches themselves, it is clear that Thucydides meant by the phrase 'what would be demanded' — τὰ δέοντα — those broad considerations, material, social, and psychological in nature, by which men form their own or others' judgement on specific topics. And without anticipating here what will be better discussed under the different speeches,¹ one can at least say that Euripides also conceived his debates in a similar spirit. Contrasting the latter's *Philoctetes* with those of Aeschylus and Sophocles, Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* 52, 11 and 13) felt that it was written μετὰ πάσης ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν δυνάμεως; the prologue in which Odysseus announces a coming embassy of Trojans served as ἀνευρίσκων λόγων ἀφορμὰς, καθ' ἃς εἰς τὰναντία ἐπιχειρῶν εὐπορώτατος καὶ παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἱκανώτατος φαίνεται. Much the same judgement could be made of the debate in the contemporary *Medea* (446-575), in which both Medea and Jason expound those broad considerations of human nature and human experience by which their own acts can be justified and the other's condemned. Thucydides' plan for his speeches has then much in common with the rhetorical practice of Euripides in his early plays. And when the historian in I 23 goes on to distinguish between the superficial and the real causes of the war, he makes in large a distinction which Euripides several times makes in small (*Andr.* 391-393, *Elec.* 1040, *I. A.* 938-940).

We come now to the speeches, the first of which, that of the Corcyreans at Athens (I 32-36), turns on the argument that the Athenians will be wise to prepare for the inevitable war by allying themselves with another naval power καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν (I 33, 4). They further state that it will be just for Athens to do so, an argument opposed by the Corinthians (I 39-40) and from the foregoing account (esp. I 25-26) apparently doubtful, on purely moral grounds, to Thucydides. Their plea recalls the words of Creon in the *Medea* (349-351), that

¹ See below, pp. 37-38, 41-43, 48-52, 56, 60, 64.

it is a weakness to be turned from your material interests by moral scruples, and again (289), that one must anticipate evils by action,

ταῦτ' οὖν πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξομαι.

Like Jason in the same play (548-550), the envoys state at the start what they must prove (I 32, 1); in both cases also, the argument turns on personal advantage clothed in the terms of justice. Again, like the Mytileneans pleading for Spartan help (III 9), they seek to fend off ill opinion by explaining why they have deserted their natural ties (I 34),¹ a form of reasoning which brings to mind Electra's words on the dead Aegisthus (*Elec.* 918-924), that he should have judged his wife's future by her past conduct. In the *Medea* (869-905) Jason to his cost is thus convinced of his wife's change of heart. In short, the *Medea* shows Euripides to be fully aware not only of the lines of argument, τὸ συμφέρον and τὸ δίκαιον, on which the Corcyreans base their appeal, but also of the formal use of those arguments in speeches. Medea appealing to Jason and, later, Jason to Medea have, like the envoys, 'dressed their utterance well' (*Med.* 576); beneath, in all three cases, are entirely material ends.

I omit the first speech of the Corinthians at Sparta (I 68-71); for although the contrast there made between Spartan ἡσυχία and Athenian πολυπραγμοσύνη is well known in Euripides, it may best be discussed under later speeches. After the Corinthians, the Athenians come forward 'to remind the old and instruct the young' (I 72, 1. Cf. *Suppl.* 842-843) and, like Adrastus in the *Suppliants* (253), state that they are not speaking as before judges. After rehearsing the feats of Athens in the Persian wars, a subject necessarily absent from Euripides but, to judge by Pericles' dismissal of it μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος (II 36, 4), evidently common at the time, they proceed to justify the Athenian empire, first, as involving peril for themselves if it were abandoned and,

¹ Cf. *Rhet. ad Alex.*, 1424b 36, δεῖ δέ, ὅταν συναγορεύειν βούλῃ τῇ γινομένη συμμάχῃ, . . . δεικνύναι τοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιουμένους μάλιστα μὲν δίκαιους ὄντας. The treatise professes to rely in part on the teachings of Corax (1421b 2) and thus may in some cases reproduce arguments known in Athens during the Periclean Age (see above, p. 30).

second, as natural since men subdue what fails to resist (I 75-76). Euripides offers no such exact parallel to either idea as does a fragment of Democritus to the latter, φύσει τὸ ἄρχειν οἰκῆιον τῷ κρέσσονι.¹ But the praise of the βίος ἀκίνδυνος (*Ion* 597, 621-647; *Antiope* fgs. 193-4, 198; *I. A.* 16-27. Cf. also Soph. *O. T.* 577-602) as well as the statements of the dangers which surround power (*Her.* 65-66; fg. 850) are ideas closely related to the first; still more so is the import of the following fragment (*Hipp. Kal.* 433),

ἔγωγε φημὶ καὶ νόμον γε μὴ σέβειν
ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλέον.

It is remarkable that Euripides seems nowhere to expound the 'natural right' of the strong.² He is familiar, at least, with the doctrine that convention fetters men (*Cycl.* 338-341) and several times says that power knows no moral inhibitions.³ A conspicuous trait of language in this speech is the repeated use of a series of three general nouns; their empire, say the Athenians, is justifiable through δέος, τιμή, and ὠφελία (I 75, 3; 76, 2. Cf. I 74, 1; 122, 4; III, 40, 2). If *Heraclidae* 238-242 and *Medea* 548-549 are perhaps not exact parallels, the formal resemblance to the *Τριασμός* of Ion of Chios is striking, πάντα τρία καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον τούτων τῶν τριῶν . . . σύνεσις καὶ κράτος καὶ τύχη (Diels, *Vorsokr.*⁴, I, 286, fg. 1).

The aged king Archidamus, after advancing reasons for delaying the war, answers the Corinthians' criticism of the Spartan ἡσυχία by setting the trait in a more favorable light and by showing how it is rooted in the Spartan system of discipline (I 83-85). Superficial resemblances to Euripides exist in his appeal to the coolness and experience of the older Spartans (I 80, 1. *Bellerophon* fg. 291, *Suppl.* 476-485), in his statement that the strength of Athens is in her allies (I 81, 4. *Ion* 1584-5), and in his remark that intellect impedes action (I 84, 3. *Peliades* fg. 610). But the part of the speech which touches the thought of Periclean Athens most closely is his description of the Spartan ἀγωγή. Thucydides saw it as a

¹ H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁴, Berlin, 1922, II, 115, fg. 267.

² But see W. Nestle, *Euripides*, Stuttgart, 1901, 203.

³ Cf. pp. 31, 57.

profound contrast to the Athenian way of life expounded in the Funeral Oration: the one relied on discipline and strict observance of law, because, as Archidamus says (I, 84, 4), men being much alike, those trained in the severest school are most effective; the other, although essentially controlled by law, especially the unwritten laws (II 37, 3), trusted its citizens to think and act without recourse to constant discipline (II 39, 3; 40, 3). Now this contrast between authoritarian and liberal government must have been very seriously debated at Athens; it is, in fact, at the root of any possible theory of democracy. Aeschylus foreshadowed it when he made the Eumenides threaten that the loss of their power, involved as that loss was with the change in status of the Areopagus, meant the decline of all discipline (*Eum.* 490-565). But the *Ajax* and *Antigone* of Sophocles first discuss the question in the form of antithetical debate made familiar in Athens through Protagoras.¹ In the former play (1073-1080), Menelaus in forbidding Teucer to bury the dead Ajax, enforces his demands on the grounds that law cannot endure without *dēos*,

οὐτ' ἂν στρατός γε σωφρόνως ἄρχειτ' ἔτι
μηδὲν φόβου πρόβλημα μηδ' αἰδοῦς ἔχων. . . .
δέος γὰρ ᾧ πρόσεστιν αἰσχύνῃ θ' ὁμοῦ
σωτηρίαν ἔχοντα τόνδ' ἐπίστασο.

Creon (*Antig.* 666-676) likewise thinks civil obedience the school of military discipline. And it is striking how close these passages are to the thought of Archidamus who, like Menelaus, represents discipline as resulting from *aídōs* and *σωφροσύνη* inculcated by the state and, in his brief speech to the troops early in Book II, lays weight on *dēos* (II 11, 4-5). His insistence on unquestioning obedience to law (I 84, 3) recalls especially the first lines of the passage cited from the *Antigone*, and Euripides echoes the point in the *Orestes* when, after making it clear that Tyndareus is a Spartan (457, 537), he portrays him as a legalist (491-541).

¹ For the *Antilogies* of Protagoras, see Diels, *Vorsokr.*⁴, II 219, 17; 220, 17; 224, 3; 230, 4. He professed to teach knowledge of government (Plato, *Protag.* 318e 6), and Aristoxenus saw in his *Antilogies* the substance of Plato's *Republic* (Diels, *op. cit.*, II, 230).

On the whole, however, the contrast appears in a different but closely related guise in Euripides. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* 558-572 it is stated that training (τροφή) is chiefly instrumental in producing ἀρετή. But Euripides was not always so sure of the value of training; in the earlier *Hecuba*, 592-602, and *Phoenix*, fg. 810 (cf. *Elec.* 390, 941-2), he states his chief confidence in men's native powers, and one is possibly justified in explaining this change of attitude by the poet's growing conservatism and by the disillusionment with democracy which he felt towards the end of his life.¹ For that, in contemporary theory, democracy implied a trust and oligarchy a distrust of man's native capacities appears not only from the opposing views of Pericles and Archidamus, but from such other contrasts as that between the ἀκρίβεια of the aristocrats and the ἀταξία of the poor in the pseudo-Xenophontic 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτία (I, 5), between the αἰδώς of the older generation and the self-indulgence of the younger in the *Clouds* (992, 1077), between the restrained knowledge of the few and the ignorant wildness of the many in the debate among the Persians (Herod. III 81). These last passages are unfavorable to the free ways fostered by democracy, but arguments were made on the other side, one of which seems to have centered about the ἄγραπτοι νόμοι. It is, at least, a striking coincidence that the unwritten laws are cited by Pericles as especially regarded in a democracy (II 37, 3), appear as the sanction of Theseus' conduct in the *Suppliants*,² and are Antigone's chief support against the oligarchic Creon (*Antig.* 450-460).³ The argument may have run somewhat as follows: al-

¹ Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die Griechische Tragödie*², Berlin, 1921, 14-15.

² Theseus speaks, not of the 'unwritten laws,' but of the νόμος παλαιὸς δαιμόνων (*Suppl.* 563. Cf. 311, 526). Andocides, I 85-87, cites a law forbidding judicial decisions based on an ἀγράφω νόμῳ. But he is referring to laws not included in the written code of 403, and the words therefore have an entirely different meaning from those under discussion.

³ It is perhaps worth reminding the reader that the play won Sophocles the office of general (*Arg. Antig.*) at a time when the rivalry of Pericles and Thucydides the son of Melesias had raised serious questions concerning the nature of Attic democracy (see the article of H. T. Wade-Gery cited below, p. 45, n. 2). It is likely, therefore, that the play conveyed political overtones to the audience.

though democracy lacks the strict νόμοι of oligarchy, democratic man with his freer trust in himself feels instinctive accord with the great natural laws. But the point need not be pressed; certainly there were other arguments in favor of democracy as having written laws available for all (II 37, 1-3. *Suppl.* 443). It is enough for our purpose if it be accepted that the difference between democracy and oligarchy was analyzed in the years when Thucydides knew Athens and that in introducing into the debate the related questions of strict obedience and freedom, training and natural inclination, distrust and trust of human nature, he is true to the thought of the time.

The second speech of the Corinthians at Sparta need not long detain us. There exists a close parallel to *Bellerophon*, fg. 287,

τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεών·
μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὖν τυγχάνων
τὰ πράγματ' ὁρθῶς ἦν τιθῆναι, πρᾶσσει καλῶς,

when, speaking of the unexpectedness of war, the envoys conclude ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δ' ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίνει (I 122, 1). And the statement that men do not in action measure up to their previous plans (I 120, 5) is common in somewhat differing contexts in Euripides (*I. T.* 729-730, *Alc.* 671-672, *Ion* 585). In form, this speech is a very simple example of a συμβουλευτικός, the first and last paragraphs being exhortation (I 120 and 124), while the second and third show respectively that it is possible for the Peloponnesians to win and at all events shameful for them not to make the attempt.¹ The two topics of possibility (τὸ δυνατόν) and honor (τὸ καλόν) are prominent in the *Rhetoric to Alexander* (1421b 21-33), and a good example of the use of the latter by Euripides is *Suppliants*, 306-319. The former topic is by nature nearly identical with the argument from εἰκός (*Ion* 585-620), and it is worth noting that, if that argument must look to the past in didactic speeches such as Antiphon's first tetralogy or the self-defense of Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 991-1035. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 577-602), it looks of course chiefly to the future in

¹ Cf. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1425a 17, ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν παρακαλῶμεν, . . . δεκτέον, ἐξ ὧν ἔστι περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ.

deliberative speeches.¹ Now a glance at the passage cited from the *Ion*, where the boy surveys the possible dangers awaiting him if he returns with Xuthus to Athens, shows how closely allied is this future use of *εἰκός* with the *προγνώσις* which Thucydides thought the chief quality of statesmen (I 138, 3; II 65, 5 and 13). In practice, a statesman undoubtedly showed his *προγνώσις* by expounding what was likely to result from a given step.²

The speech of Pericles with which the book ends is similar in plan to the preceding except that, after a short introduction (I 140, 1), he speaks briefly of the justice of the war (I 140, 2-141, 1) and, most appropriately in one whose foresight Thucydides considered supreme, then canvasses at much greater length the prospects of victory (I 141, 2-143). Such detailed weighing of chances is foreign to tragedy, but when Pericles states that the essential reason for war is to make clear that Athens will not be commanded by another power, we must believe that this reason was actually the common explanation of the war in most men's minds, since it is a chief theme of the *Heraclidae* (197-201, 286-287, 362-363) and of the *Suppliants* (517-523). An echo of the statesman's figurative style may remain in his remark that events go no less foolishly than the minds of men (I 141, 1), a figure repeated in the outcry of Hecuba (*Tro.* 1205) that fortune moves *ἐμπληκτος ὡς ἄνθρωπος*.

Before leaving the first book we may pause to consider one other subject in which the thought of the poet and of the historian is in close accord, namely, the Spartan character. Something was said of it under the speech of Archidamus in which Thucydides expounds its social origins, but he often recurs to the subject both in the speeches and in his own words, and although it is impossible to treat the shades of his meaning here, one can at least note his main points. The Spartans are slow to act (I 70; 118, 2; 132, 5; IV 55, 2; V 63, 2; VIII 96, 5), fearful (I 23, 6; 88; 90, 1; IV

¹ Cf. the well known passage of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (I, 1358b 14) in which he specifies the times appropriate to the three classes of oratory: *χρόνοι δὲ ἐκάστου τούτων εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν συμβουλευόντι ὁ μέλλων (περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐσομένων συμβουλεύει ἢ προτρέπων ἢ ἀποτρέπων)*. Even epideictic orators sometimes look to the future, *τὰ μέλλοντα προεικάζοντες*.

² Demosthenes (*De Cor.* 246, cf. 189) describes the task of the *ρήτωρ* as *ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

55, 2), suspicious of others (I 68, 2; 90, 2; 102, 3; 120, 2; III 13, 1), and chary in revealing their motives (I 90, 2; 102, 2). Hence in spite of their great reputation both as warriors and as men of honor (I 132, 5; III 57, 1; V 105, 4), they are bitterly attacked as sunk in their own way of life (I 71, 2), cowardly (I 83; V 75, 3), and double-faced (V 105, 4). That Thucydides thought of them as in fact supremely guided by self-interest appears not only from the biting statement of the Melian Dialogue (V 105, 4), ἐπιφανέστατα ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα δίκαια, but from his judgement of the real causes of the war (I 23, 6; 88) and of the trial at Plataea (III 68, 4-5). Now Euripides echoes certain of these opinions, notably in Adrastus' characterization (*Suppl.* 187),

Σπάρτη μὲν ὦμῃ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους,

and in Andromache's longer and fiercer invective (*Andr.* 445-464). Her question

οὐ λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν
γλώσση, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφευρίσκεσθ' αἰεί,

repeats the historian's judgement of their conduct at the time of the rebuilding of the Athenian walls (I 90, 2) and at Ithome (I 102, 3). Her allusion to their plight when forced into naval warfare parallels his opinion (I 18, 3; IV 55, 2. Cf. Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2, 1), and her outcry that they are unjustly famous in Greece, repeated earlier in the play (319-324) and in the *Heraclidae* (745-757), recalls not only the criticisms cited above but the historian's essential idea that, had Athens followed the plan of Pericles, she would have replaced Sparta's outmoded leadership. Their slow secretiveness contrasts with the open vigor of Athens (I 70. *Suppl.* 320-325), their ἡσυχία with her πολυπραγμοσύνη, points on which more will be said under the following speeches of Pericles. And although it is true that, writing war-plays for popular hearing, Euripides is often led to blacken Sparta and those whom he portrays as Spartans (for example, Menelaus in the *Andromache* and again, with Tyndareus and Helen, in the *Orestes*), and although he represents Athens as the idealistic protectress of the weak (*Hclld.* 329-332, 757; *Suppl.* 337; and Theseus in the *Her.*), whereas

Thucydides regards alliances in the cold light of policy, still even the latter feels that Athens at her best had a vigor and a generosity (II 40, 5) which contrasts markedly with the cold and covert self-interest of Sparta. His History therefore analyzes and in many ways confirms what Athenians thought of Sparta early in the war. One could go farther and say that it is incorrect to imagine, as some have done,¹ that Thucydides wrote his History chiefly to exonerate Pericles when, at the end of the war, his policies seemed to have ruined Athens. For since Thucydides states that he contemplated his work at the start of the war and is seen, as in the case just discussed, to have kept in mind certain issues as they were then presented, it is far easier to believe that, even at the beginning, he saw much that was at stake and spent his life observing and testing the original issues.

With the speeches of Pericles and the historian's judgement of him in the second book we pass from the Spartan government and character, which have much occupied us hitherto, to the Athenian. Euripides not unnaturally mentions the latter constantly; the *Suppliants*, in particular, is almost as enlightening as a friendly exposition of democratic theory as is the tract of the Old Oligarch as an attack upon it. Thus the connection between Euripides and Thucydides is very close for this part of the latter's work and continues to be so through the debate of Cleon and Diodotus in the third book.

Plutarch (*Per.* 8) quotes a phrase from an earlier oration delivered by Pericles after the Samian War, and in II 35, 1 the statesman begins by referring to those who had spoken on such occasions in the past. The practice of delivering orations over the fallen must therefore have been familiar, and it is not surprising that Euripides should introduce such a speech into the *Suppliants* (857-917), with the same purpose of public instruction (909-917) as that expressed by Pericles (II 36, 4; 43, 4-6). A speech exactly opposite in character but with the same didactic purpose is delivered by Electra over the dead Aegisthus (*Elec.* 907-956).² In all three

¹ E. Schwartz, *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Thukydides*², Bonn, 1929, 133.

² Τὸ ἐγκωμιστικὸν and τὸ ψεκτικὸν are treated as the two main divisions of epideictic oratory in *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1425b 36.

cases the subject is the way of life — in the Funeral Oration, the way of life of a whole city — through which the dead came to act as they did. References to the common grave (II 43, 2. *Erechtheus* fg. 360, 33), free offering of life to the city (II 43. *Phoen.* 1013-1018), love of it (II 43, 1. *Erech.* fg. 360, 54), children as its protectors (II 44, 3. *Erech.* 360, 14-17; *Ion* 483-484), the immortality of noble death (II 43, 2-3. *Erech.* 361), offer superficial parallels. That the fame of women is to avoid fame is said by both (II 45, 2. *Tro.* 647-650), and like the Funeral Oration, the long fragment 360 already cited from the *Erechtheus*, begins by referring to the purity of the autochthonous Athenian stock. But a deeper kinship exists in the exposition of democratic theory. Like Pericles (II 37), Theseus in the *Suppliants* (403-409) speaks of the rule of the demos, of the equality of rich and poor in office and before the law (424), and of the distinction accorded to those who can benefit the state (438-441). More significant is it that when Pericles states his firm confidence in debate and in the capacity of all citizens both to interest themselves in the city and to think clearly of its affairs (II 40, 2), he is answering exactly the arguments which the Theban Herald in the *Suppliants* (409-425) makes against democracy. The latter says that the oratory of politicians leads the masses astray and that the poor in any case lack the time and ability for politics. Now of these two objections, the second appears in the debate on constitutions (Herod. III 81, 2) and is subtly treated by the Old Oligarch, who states that, although the *κακοί* cannot make right decisions, still their vicious counsels are in their own interest, since good plans would favor the good, that is, the aristocrats (*Ath. Pol.* 1, 7-8). Clearly then the question was crucial in the contemporary debate on democracy, and when Pericles defends the fitness of the masses for government, one must see in his words not merely the faith of a convinced democrat but the line of argument actually pursued in the Periclean Age by the advocates of a democratic system.

Other considerations should make the point more clear. We have seen that Pericles states his confidence not only in the masses but in debate, while the Theban Herald sees in the oratory of the demagogues the greatest danger to democracy. Thucydides

thought exactly that. In the contest between Cleon and Diodotus, he represents the latter as well aware of the dangers of ignorance, dishonesty, and *διαβολή*, yet still true to the Periclean ideal of serious debate (III 42, 2); Cleon, on the other hand, the master of *διαβολή*, opposes real deliberation and taxes the Athenians with an empty love of words. The contest is doubtless meant to convey the increasing difficulty of honest and profitable debate in the assembly. For, speaking of the successors of Pericles, Thucydides says that none far outshone the others but all vied to gratify the demos for their personal ends (II 65, 7-10. Cf. III 82, 8). Herein he sees the chief reason for Athens' defeat (II 65, 7-11; VI 15, 3-4; 29, 3). He clearly felt that Pericles' confidence in the popular judgement proved unfounded in the light of later events, and he therefore welcomed the narrower democracy briefly instituted in 411 (VIII 97, 2). The same opposite judgements on oratory appear in Euripides. Theseus in the *Suppliants* and *Heracles* and Erechtheus, as we see him in the two long fragments 360 and 362, are portrayed as political orators in the fullest sense of which Aristotle uses the term of older tragedy (*Poet.* 1450b 7). Yet in as early a play as the *Medea*, Jason, an accomplished pleader, uses words only to deceive; the *Suppliants* (229-237) refers to the ruinous self-interest of the younger politicians in exactly the way in which Thucydides speaks of the demagogues in general and of Alcibiades in particular (II 65; VI 15); the *διαβολή* referred to by the Theban Herald (*Suppl.* 411-416) echoes Thucydides' and Aristophanes' judgement of Cleon (V 16. *Ach.* 380, 502, *Eq.* 710); and the *Palamedes*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigenia at Aulis* show the popular orators in an increasingly venal and vicious light. Besides self-interest, hope, passion, and desire are represented by both authors as misleading.¹ And since reason then seems so beset by dangers, both authors, like Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*, see in a man's *ἀξίωμα* a force ultimately more persuasive than words (II 65, 8. *Hec.* 293-294). Now although the figure of Jason in the *Medea* warns us against blaming the war alone for this breakdown of confidence in reasoned debate, there can be no doubt that, as Thucydides says (III 82, 8),

¹ I 140, 1; II 62, 5; III 39, 3; 97, 2; IV 108, 4; V 103. *Her.* 309-310, *Med.* 1078-1080, *Hipp.* 382, *Chrysippus* fg. 841.

war and covert revolution greatly hastened the process. It follows, therefore, that when Pericles justifies reasoned debate as both necessary and possible in democratic Athens, he is stating, as the objections of the Theban Herald in the *Suppliants* clearly show, a vital article in the theory of democracy of his own times. Both Thucydides and Euripides lost faith in debate, although both, it must be added, were molded intellectually by it. Thus in this respect also the Funeral Oration conveys, not the opinion of Thucydides, but the thought of the older Athens of his youth.

Finally, when Pericles says that the poor, although not despised as such, should struggle to escape their poverty (II 40, 1), he is at one with the *Suppliants* (177-178, 238-245) and the *Erechtheus* (fg. 362, 11-15). And his concluding words that that city is best served which rewards virtue most generously give the theme for a speech in the *Hecuba* (299-331, esp. 306-308. Cf. *Rhes.* 161-3, and *Soph. O. T.* 879-880). Thus these ideas too were evidently common in the older democracy. In fact, they comport well with the bracing and optimistic trust in human nature which is not less characteristic of Theseus in the *Suppliants* (195-218) than of Pericles, and which, as we have seen, is fundamentally opposed to the less hopeful Spartan outlook. The city which offered this freedom of opportunity prided itself, as Pericles says in a famous sentence (II 41, 1), on the wisdom and versatile grace of its citizens. Just such a claim for it is made by Euripides in a hardly less famous chorus of the *Medea* (824-845), sung a few months before the war began and less than a year before Pericles delivered his Funeral Oration. The *Heraclidae*, produced not long after, repeats the boast (379-380).

The historian represents Pericles as speaking a third time to cheer the citizens who now repented of the war, being dejected by a second, more severe invasion and by the plague. If the speech is narrower in purpose than the Funeral Oration, it is, in a sense, as searching in its exposition, first, of the unity necessary within a state, then, of Athens' justified hopes of keeping and later extending her empire through her navy, and finally, of the nature of empire itself. The second part of the speech, although necessarily without parallel in Euripides, is shown to be in keeping with the

thought of the times by its similarities to pseudo-Xenophon,¹ and we may confine ourselves to the first and third points. Pericles begins by saying that a city must stand together, since individual citizens, even if temporarily successful, will fail if the city as a whole fails and, conversely, will in the end succeed if the city succeeds (II 60, 1-4). The thought is closely echoed by Erechtheus (fg. 360, 16-26. Cf. *Philoctetes* fg. 798), who, like Theseus in the *Suppliants*, seems to have worn the character of an ideal *προστάτης*; he concludes

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν οἶδα καὶ τοῖλάσσοнос
τὸ μείζον, οὐνὸς οἶκος οὐ πλέον σθένει
πταίσας ἀπάσης πόλεος οὐδ' ἴσον φέρει.

The Periclean ideal is contrasted with the conduct of the later demagogues (II 60, 6; 65; VI 15), which, as was observed above,² Euripides criticizes in terms similar to the historian's (*Suppl.* 232-237). After stating the folly of unnecessary war in much the same way as in *Troïades* 400, Pericles goes on to say that, unlike the rest of the citizens, he has not changed his original view that this war is necessary (II 61, 1-2). That consistency, aped by Cleon (III 38, 1), is commended by Erechtheus with other political advice to his son, when he says (fg. 362, 9-10. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 557),

δυοῖν παρόντοιιν πραγμάτοιιν πρὸς θάτερον
γνώμην προσάπτων τὴν ἐναντίαν μέθες.

And although, like Theseus (*Her.* 1226-1228), Pericles admits the power of unexpected reverses to bring men low, like him again (1248-50), he encourages the citizens to resist in a manner worthy of themselves (II 61, 3-4). There follows the passage on the naval power of Athens (II 62, 1-3), after which in a phrase which recalls the verbal distinctions of Prodicus,³ he urges the Athenians not merely to *φρόνησις* but to *καταφρόνησις*. The words convey Pericles'

¹ See above, p. 25, n. 2.

² P. 42.

³ Cf. I 69, 6; III 39, 2; 72, 1; 82, 4. Cf. H. Mayer, *Prodikos von Keos*, Paderborn, 1913, 48-54, who lists perhaps an excessive number of synonyms in Euripides, omitting, however, what is possibly an early example, *Alc.* 728-729, also *Her.* 165-6.

characteristic intellectuality, and contrasted as they are with the far more usual statements on the unreliability of hope (IV 108, 4. *Held.* 169-170), give evidence of genuineness.

We come now to Pericles' celebrated apology for empire (II 63), which to him is in essence an expression of men's will to do (ὁ δρᾶν τι . . . βουλόμενος II 64, 4). Empire involves labor, is dangerous to undertake, still more dangerous to abandon, and contrasts wholly with that gentlemanly quietude which will not recognize the harsh fact of power. Pericles, it may be observed, does not use the invidious word πολυπραγμοσύνη of the attitude which he describes, although the Athenian Euphemus does not scruple to do so at Camarina (VI 87, 3). Its opposite is repeatedly called ἡσυχία or ἀπραγμοσύνη (II 63; 64, 4. Cf. I 70, 8; II 40, 2; VI 18, 2) or, in a more flattering although not less oligarchic sense, σωφροσύνη (I 32, 4; 84, 2; III 82, 8). W. Nestle¹ some years ago discussed the significance of these words as they touch Socrates' manner of life, and from a more historical point of view, H. T. Wade-Gery² recently saw in the present passage a reflection of the quarrel between the advocates of a small (and conservative) and an imperial (and democratic) Athens. But while the latter's view is quite justified since Pericles is in fact opposing the wealthy advocates of peace and conciliation, and since such a party was doubtless equally active in the earlier political struggles to which Wade-Gery applies the passage, still the contrast between ἀπραγμοσύνη and πολυπραγμοσύνη has a wider, more international significance, as the parallels of the *Suppliants* show. The ideas receive great emphasis there. When Aethra first urges Theseus to intervene in Thebes on behalf of the fallen Argives, she says that Athens is mocked by her foes for taking upon herself such foreign quarrels, yet proudly opposes them;

ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισιν αὔξεται.
αἱ δ' ἡσυχοὶ σκοτεινὰ πράσσουσιν πόλεις
σκοτεινὰ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι
(*Suppl.* 323-325).

¹ "Ἀπραγμοσύνη," *Philologus*, LXXXI (1925), 129-140.

² "Thucydides the son of Melesias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LII (1932), 205-227, esp. 224-225.

Pericles speaks in the same way of *πόνοι* in the present passage, and Alcibiades repeats the argument in the debate on intervention in Sicily (VI 18, 2). The ideas recur at the culmination of the quarrel between Theseus and the Theban Herald (576-577):

Κη. πράσσειν σὺ πόλλ' εἴωθας ἢ τε σὴ πόλις.

Θη. τοιγὰρ πονούσα πολλὰ πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ,

and it is significant that while Theseus is prepared to defend the unwritten laws, the Theban's whole argument is for acceptance and quietude at all cost (476-509). Now, as was said above, Euripides sees idealism in alliances where Thucydides sees policy alone; with that exception, the ideas of labor, of discontent with the *status quo*, and of consequent power and fame are the same in both authors. Basically, the contrast between *πολυπραγμοσύνη* and *ἀπραγμοσύνη* seems to describe the conflict between a rising and an established power. The Spartans, hereditary leaders of Greece, quite naturally deprecated change, and the established classes in any given city held the same views for the same reasons. Athens, on the other hand, conscious of her energy, alleged it as a justification of her empire, an empire which meant a shift of power, internationally, from Sparta to herself and, domestically, from the rich to the poor. To Athenians, then, the word *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, vulgar as its connotations could be to aristocrats, had nobler meanings; it was, in fact, as the correspondences between Thucydides and Euripides show, one of the watchwords which justified her rise from a second-class to a dominating power.

The concluding paragraph of Pericles' speech is echoed by Euripides in several minor ways: the exhortation to bear *τὰ δαιμόνια* (II 64, 2. *Her.* 1228, *Phoe.* 382); the reminder that all things great decline (II 64, 3. *Bellerophon* fg. 304, *Ino* 415); the statement that it is worth enduring *φθόνος* for great ends (II 64, 5. *Phoenix.* fg. 814). Yet even these parallels, some of them from early plays, are significant in a speech the texture of which comports well with our earliest sources of Athenian political thought.

It has already been noted that Euripides speaks of the persuasiveness of an honest man's *ἀξίωμα* and arraigns the destructive self-interest of lesser politicians in much the same way as Thucyd-

ides in II 65. I therefore merely note a few further parallels to the latter idea (*Hcll.* 3-5, *Hec.* 254-257, *Her.* 588-592, *I. A.* 527, 1362), before passing to the debate between Cleon and Diodotus in the third book. In general cast, Cleon's speech reveals his characteristic reliance on *διαβολή* (III 38, 2-3; 42-43; V 16, 1. *Suppl.* 415-416. Aristoph. *Ach.* 380, 502, *Eq.* 710); in substance, its most striking part is a violent criticism of the ineffectiveness of democracy. Whereas Pericles had set forth the *ἀρετή* of the Athenians as a force mitigating the harshness of empire (II 40, 4-5. Cf. I, 76, 3-4), Cleon expounds the naked fact of power, the maintenance of which, he says, permits no feelings of *οἶκτος* or *ἐπιείκεια* (III 37, 2; 40, 2-3). Just so, Creon in the *Medea* asserts that pity is hostile to self-interest (349, 1051-1052); indeed, few ideas recur more insistently in Euripides or seem to have troubled him more than that education, with all it implies of decency, pity, and fellow-feeling, nevertheless can harm its possessor (*Med.* 291-305, *Hcll.* 458, *Hipp.* 955-957, *Her.* 299-301, *Elec.* 294-296). And it is exactly this softening influence of the mind that Cleon attacks. He therefore repudiates Pericles' ideal of intelligent debate, asserting οἱ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις (III 37, 3), to which one may compare the lines of the nearly contemporary *Andromache* (481-482),

σοφῶν τε πλήθος ἀθρόον ἀσθενέστερον
φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς.

Such criticism of the divided leadership of democracy is inevitable always and never more so than in wartime, although Pericles had so avoided it that the historian saw in his ascendancy the rule of one man (II 65, 10). The misfortune is, as Thucydides means to show, that to escape it one must return, as Cleon in fact does, to a harsh travesty of the Spartan ideal (cf. the present passage to I 84, 3 and III 83, 3).

Cleon goes on to attack not merely softness of feeling, but delight in words (III 38, 3-7). One may compare Phaedra's remarks on the influences hostile to reason (*Hipp.* 383-385),

εἰσὶ δ' ἡδοναὶ πολλαὶ βίου,
μακραὶ τε λέσχαι καὶ σχολή, τερπνὸν κακόν,
αἰδώς τε,

as well as the Nurse's characterization of the queen's sick mood (*Hipp.* 184-185),

οὐδέ σ' ἀρέσκει τὸ παρόν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸν
φίλτερον ἡγή,

to Cleon's similar indictment of the Athenian temper (III 38, 7), ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι ὥς εἶπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν (cf. also *Alc.* 202-203). The contexts here are quite different, but the essential similarity of expression shows at least that Cleon is using the language of his time. And the same is true when he sees in the previous good fortune of the Mytileneans the cause of their rebellion and draws from it the old moral, often repeated in Euripides (cf. *Suppl.* 124), that most men cannot bear prosperity (III 39, 4). But finally, one should not leave Cleon's speech without noting its general similarity to several well known speeches of tragedy. In the *Antigone* when the attempted burial of Polyneices has been revealed, Creon shows his innate violence by immediately alleging disloyalty and profit as motives of the crime and by descanting on these at length and in the most general terms (*Antig.* 280-301. Cf. *O. T.* 125, 380). The same rash intensity showing itself in sweeping accusations appears in the speeches of Theseus in the *Hippolytus* (936-980), Pentheus in the *Bacchae* (215-262), and Jason in the *Medea* (446-464). The opening words of the last speech,

οὐ νῦν κατεῖδον πρῶτον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις,

surprisingly resemble Cleon's, πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν (III 37, 1). It is notable too that, just as the foregoing speeches of tragedy are followed by careful and logical replies — one thinks especially of Hippolytus' extremely careful self-defence (*Hipp.* 983-1035. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 577-615) — so the following speech of Diodotus is remarkable for compressed and tightly woven argument. Now it seems beyond question that Euripides and Thucydides are consciously attempting the same contrast of impetuosity and reason, and it might therefore be argued that the historian is here adopting the methods of tragedy. Another explanation, not wholly incompatible with the first, is that both authors are portraying a well known type of speech

which in its violence neglected the ordinary rules of rhetoric and relied on the forceful outpouring of familiar judgments. Thucydides, at least, calls Cleon βιαίωτατος τῶν πολιτῶν (III 36, 6), and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 28, 15) says of him, πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο . . . τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων. If the second explanation be accepted, then it follows once more that Thucydides is true to the period when he distinguishes between orderly and disorderly forms of argument. For Euripides, as we have seen, makes that distinction in plays as early as the *Medea* and the *Hippolytus*.

The orderliness of Diodotus' reply shows itself at the start in his neat and balanced clauses. In a manner similar to *Orestes* 490 and *Archelaus* fg. 257, he begins by noting factors that impede sound judgement (III 42, 1), and goes on to observe that those who oppose debate are either unintelligent or venal, a form of antithesis to which one may compare *Heracles* 347 (cf. *Soph. O. T.* 535),

ἀμαθὴς τις εἶ θεός, ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφους.

Then after dwelling at some length on the harm resulting from διαβολή, he turns to the burden of his speech, namely, that the subject-cities are to be tended for profit, not judged by abstract right (III 44) — a forceful use of the argument from τὸ συμφέρον. When, to support his views, he adduces men's proneness to act on their desires in spite of all deterrents (III 45), he touches perhaps the central idea of both the *Medea* and the *Hippolytus*, the heroines of which state that they know their error but are irresistibly drawn to follow it (*Med.* 1078-1080, *Hipp.* 373-387. Cf. *Andr.* 368-369, *I. T.* 414). It is interesting that Diodotus expounds an evolutionary view of law, confirming it, like Thucydides in the *Archaeology*, by an allusion to Homer (III 45, 3), and from the speech of Protagoras in Plato (*Protag.* 320d-322), the Hippocratic *Περὶ Ἀρχαίης Ἰητρικῆς*, and the interest of all the tragedians in the development of society,¹ his words seem entirely natural. He ends by elaborating the statement of the *Medea* (291-292) that preven-

¹ Aesch. *Prom.* 442-506, fg. 182; *Soph. Antig.* 332-376, fg. 479; Eur. *Suppl.* 201-213, *Elec.* 743-745, fg. 578; Critias, *Sisyphus* fg. 1.

tion is better than cure (III 46, 4) and by saying that, even if the subject-cities do revolt, Athens should pretend not to see (III 47, 4) — advice frequently given in Euripides (*Ino* fg. 413, *Hipp.* 462–466, *I. T.* 956). Finally, to say a word of the speech as a whole, it is noteworthy that Diodotus opposes Cleon's position of rigid justice with the same cool arguments from the laws of nature and from personal profit with which the Nurse in the *Hippolytus* (433–481, 500–502) disputes Phaedra's more idealistic stand. This practice of refuting τὸ δίκαιον by τὸ συμφέρον seems to have been well known,¹ and the debate between Phaedra and the Nurse makes it quite certain that such tactics were familiar in the Athens of Cleon and Diodotus.

Since I have dwelt with perhaps excessive detail on the foregoing speeches, a simple summary of parallels should in most cases suffice henceforth, and of the Plataean speech ² I merely observe that, like *Medea* 475–569 and *Orestes* 640–679, it rests on a recitation of past benefits (III 54, 2–56) and, like *Suppliants* 297–319, on an appeal to the Spartans not to disgrace their name or the religious laws of Greece (III 57–58).

The historian's brilliant catalogue later in the same book (III 82–83) of the effects of war on the public mind does not, for obvious reasons, resemble anything in tragedy, but Euripides parallels a few of its expressions and ideas, and its general form is perhaps not inexplicable in the light of fifth-century thought. To discuss the parallels first, Euripides speaks of war as meaning the abandonment of the εὐσέβεια common in peace (III 82, 2. *Ion* 1045–1047), of poverty as teaching men evil (III 82, 7. *Elec.* 376. Cf. *Ps.-Xen. Ath. Pol.* 1, 6), of the poor as therefore inclined to impute evil

¹ In *Hec.* 251–331, the aged queen appeals to Odysseus to save the life of Polyxena, asserting (271), τῷ μὲν δίκαιῳ τόνδ' ἀμιλλῶμαι λόγον. He replies (315–316) that giving honors to the dead conduces to valor. Similarly Jason refutes Medea's just plea on grounds of practicality (*Med.* 559–567). Cf. also *Bacch.* 334–336.

² With the Plataeans' conciliatory opening in which they speak of their sad plight and their fear (III 53), compare the early fragments *Alcmeon in Psophis* fg. 67 and *Telephus* fg. 703, also Aristophanes' judgement of Euripides as a master of appeal (*Ach.* 415–418). See also C. T. Murphy's essay in the present volume, pp. 88–92.

motives (III 83, 1. I. T. 678), and of the distortion of standards in times of excitement (III, 82, 4. *Hec.* 607-608),

ἀκόλαστος ὄχλος ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία
κρείσσων πυρός, κακὸς δ' ὁ μή τι δρωὶν κακόν.

The idea, in fact, that misfortune can in itself do much to vitiate men's natures had a strong grip on the thought of the fifth century from the time of Simonides on,¹ and although Sophocles especially expounded the nobler faith that a naturally good man somehow keeps true to himself through disaster, it was characteristic of Euripides that he felt the former more mechanistic view profoundly. Now it is not a great step from grasping that truth and applying it in individual characters as Euripides does, for instance, in the *Hecuba* and *Electra*, to applying it in social terms like Thucydides. Such statements as that of Euphemus (VI 85, 1), ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὅ τι ξυμφέρων, and *Hecuba* 903-904

ἰδίᾳ θ' ἐκάστω καὶ πόλει, τὸν μὲν κακόν
κακόν τι πάσχειν, τὸν δὲ χρηστὸν εὐτυχεῖν,

are examples of the pervasive Greek habit of seeing the same truths embodied in the individual and in the mass. And although one touches here on profound questions concerning the nature of Greek thought and art, it can at least be said that Thucydides' desire to see the typical is not unique in him. On the contrary, the whole rhetorical doctrine of εἰκὼς depended on the conception that different ages and conditions of men would act consistently and hence predictably. The Old Oligarch sketches what is typical in the action of the κακοί with no less broad strokes than does Hippolytus the probable conduct of an upright young man (*Hipp.* 983-1020). Both argue the particular case by observations on the type. Or again, when Medea urges the chorus to silence, she speaks at length of the general lot of women (*Med.* 230-251), and when she pleads with Creon, she adduces the suspicion always

¹ E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Leipzig, 1925, fg. 4, 10-11, πράξας γὰρ εὖ πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, | κακὸς δ' εἰ κακῶς. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 564-565; Eur. *Elec.* 617-620, I. T. 351-353.

accorded the wise (*Med.* 292–301). In short, one need hardly multiply examples to show that Euripides thought of rhetoric as adducing fundamental laws of human nature and society to prove, as the case might be, what was *δίκαιον* or *συμφέρον* or *εἰκός*.¹ It follows that Thucydides, reared in a similar rhetoric, expected and was doubtless trained to see the general law underlying the specific occurrence, and although his greatness as an historian depends also on his wide personal experience and his unique care in verifying facts, yet his history would lack its essence without such searching generalizations as those of the present passage. There is no question here, as in the speeches, of authenticity; the parallels adduced from Euripides show rather the prevailing breadth of the rhetoric with which Thucydides approached both his speeches and his History itself.

The fourth book calls for little comment beside that given in passing hitherto. The speech of the Spartans, seeking peace at Athens while their countrymen were surrounded on Sphacteria, is however interesting as beginning with an apology for their speak-

¹ So Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 2, 7 (1356a 28), says that rhetoric is *παραφνές τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς . . . καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἥθη πραγματείας, ἣν δίκαιόν ἐστι προσαγορεύειν πολιτικὴν*. He repeatedly says that to discuss any given subject demands a familiarity with the general principles involved (cf. I 4, 8, 1359b 36; 4, 9, 1360a 3). For rhetoric deals with what is probably true of the class, rather than of the individual (I 2, 11, 1356b 34). Thus in describing τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, he first discusses the nature of happiness (I 5), then of what conduces to happiness (I 6), and finally the kinds of politics under which men live (I 8. Cf. I 8, 1, 1365b 23, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ κυριώτατον ἀπάντων πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πείθειν καὶ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν, τὰς πολιτείας ἀπάσας λαβεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐκάστης ἔθι καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέροντα διελεῖν). He expounds the underlying principles of epideictic and dicanic oratory with similar breadth (I 9, 1–13 and I 11–12). In short, he conceived of rhetoric as utilizing the general truths derived from the more specialized studies of ethics, psychology, and government. Even the *Rhet. ad Alex.*, superficial as it is, describes the nature of democracy and oligarchy (1424a 8–1424b 16) in treating τὸ συμβουλευτικόν. And although it is true that government and ethics were not studied in the fifth century with that specialism which they received in the fourth, they were all the more associated with rhetoric at the beginning. So Protagoras is represented by Plato (*Protag.* 318e 5) as teaching εὐβουλία περὶ τῶν οἰκείων . . . καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος ἂν εἴη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, instruction which Socrates (319a 3) characterizes as τὴν πολιτικὴν τέχνην. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 1.

ing at some length, which they say Spartans do not ordinarily do but can if necessary (IV 17, 2). So Euripides, seemingly to avoid incongruity, makes Cassandra say that she can argue rationally, wild as were her earlier utterances (*Tro.* 366–367). The parallel suggests that Thucydides feels some inappropriateness in attributing to Spartans the rhetoric which, I have argued, was common in the Athens which he knew. The question is difficult. It has usually been assumed that Thucydides unhesitatingly imposed his own style on all his speakers, but our evidence on the point is not clear. For although Herodotus seems to keep a uniform style in his speeches, Aeschylus and Sophocles varied theirs, especially for humble characters, while Aristophanes introduces dialect, and Plato in the *Symposium*, for instance, conspicuously mimics his speakers. Thucydides himself attributes terseness to the ephor Sthenelaidas, elevation to Pericles, and violence to Cleon; he evidently tries to impart, if not a speaker's cast of language, at least the sequence and quality of his thought. All that has been said hitherto goes to show that he is faithful in the case of Athenian speakers, but the present parallel may indicate that he consciously gave up the attempt in reporting foreigners, especially Spartans. Further parallels in Euripides to the speech of the Spartans are the appeal to quiet reason (IV, 17, 3. *Suppl.* 476–478), the statement that victors should not trust their luck too far (IV 18, 3. *Hec.* 282–283),¹ that good luck gives good repute (IV 18, 5. *Held.* 745–747), that conciliation is possible through noblesse (IV 19, 2–3. *Her.* 299–301).

The events following Delium, described near the end of the fourth book, are likewise interesting in their connection with the *Suppliants*, which reflects the peculiar bitterness felt between the two neighboring cities after the battle. Thucydides, who indirectly reports the speeches on both sides, makes clear that each had grievances: the Athenians because their dead were not returned, the Thebans because Athens had fortified the precinct of Apollo at Delium (IV 97–98). The argument, as in the *Suppliants*, turns on τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων (IV 97, 3; 98, 2. *Suppl.* 122–123, 311,

¹ Cf. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1425a 38, ἡδὴ δ' ἐνεστῶτα [πόλεμον] παύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας . . . τοῦτο πρῶτον λεκτέον, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν πέσωσιν.

526, 563), but in the fiction of Euripides Theseus does what in fact the Thebans taunted Athens with being unable to do, namely, to retrieve and bury the dead (III 99. *Suppl.* 571). The Athenians, for their part, justified their occupation as a necessary act, forgivable in the eyes of the god (IV 98, 6), a plea used by Euripides (*Hipp. Kal.* fg. 433, *I. A.* 394-395), although not in the *Suppliants* where Athens is faultless.

But the play, which did not immediately follow Delium, refers also to events described early in the fifth book, if, as seems the case,¹ the oath prescribed by Athena (1191-1193),

μή ποτ' Ἀργείους χθόνα
ἐς τήνδ' ἐποίσειν πολέμιον παντευχίαν,
ἄλλων τ' ἰόντων ἐμποδῶν θήσειν δόρυ,

gives a one-sided version of the treaty (V 47. *I. G.* I², 86) between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, which makes in effect the same prescription (V 47, 2-4). But if this point is more significant for Euripides than Thucydides, the opposite is true of the references, already noted, to the duplicity of Sparta (*Suppl.* 187) and the self-interest of the younger politicians (232-237).² For, in describing the events immediately following the Peace of Nicias the historian makes exactly the latter point of Alcibiades (V 43, 2, and more fully in VI 15, 2-3), noting his youth, *φιλονικία*, need of money, and desire for adventurous policy, in language often very close to the more general sketch of Euripides. The duplicity of Sparta, a familiar criticism uttered in the earlier *Andromache*, was especially felt in Athens at this time because of Sparta's tortuous policy in encouraging Thebes while still bound by the terms of the Peace (V 36-38; 40-43). When, therefore, Thucydides recurs to

¹ Absolute certainty is impossible, since a clause of mutual defence was perhaps already a commonplace in treaties, as it later became (*I. G.* II² 1, 14 and 15). Thus Euripides may possibly have in mind the general usage rather than the specific pact of 420 (cf. above, p. 29, n. 1).

² It is no objection that Euripides makes these criticisms of the heroes who attacked Thebes, rather than of Athenians. He is not arguing a case but expressing ideas which are in the air, as is clear not only from his references to Delium and Sparta but from the pronouncements in favor of peace (134-149, 950-955).

the idea both in speech and in narrative (V 36, 1; 39, 2; 42, 2; 43, 3; 45, 3), and at the same time expounds the weakness of Alcibiades, he is demonstrably echoing the very thoughts of the period.

The Trojan Women and the Melian Dialogue have superficially little in common; for although they share, I think, the same essential attitude towards the event, the one elaborates the emotions suggested by it, while the other sets forth the policies which were its cause. To Thucydides' mind the siege seems to have been culpable in two ways: first, as a departure, foreshadowing greater departures, from Pericles' plan of war (I 65, 7),¹ and second, as a symbol of the increasing brutalization of the Greek mind (III 82, 3), a brutalization which he traces from Pericles' ideal of ἀρετή towards the subject-cities (II 40, 4), through Cleon's doctrine of naked power, to the present passage, and which he likewise observes in the intensified rivalry of the demagogues. If this interpretation is correct, then the Dialogue embodies the same attitude as is openly expressed in the prologue of the *Trojan Women* (esp. 95-97), namely, that disaster awaits the victors. But although so much might be granted and although the two works contain other similarities to be noted below, it is not primarily by such means that Thucydides' veracity can be defended. Rather it must first be shown that the method of dialogue was in fact so familiar at the time that the Athenians and Melians might actually have used it in some such way as Thucydides reports them to have done. Now that presumption is not hard to establish and, for want of it, the historian's accuracy has too often been impugned. In the passage of the *Soph. Elench.* (34, 183b 36) already cited, Aristotle says of Gorgias and other sophists that λόγους οἱ μὲν ῥητορικούς, οἱ δὲ ἐρωτητικούς ἐδίδουσιν ἐκμανθάνειν, and the so-called Δισσοὶ Λογοί (Diels, *Vorsokr.*⁴, II, 334-345), which derive from some non-Attic

¹ At the start of the war Melos was outside the Delian Confederacy (II 9, 4). Athens tried unsuccessfully to reduce the island in 426 (III 91, 1), and in the following year imposed a tribute of fifteen talents (*I. G.* I² 63, l. 65), whether paid or not, we do not know. Thus the conquest of the island represents the very kind of extension of Athenian naval power which Pericles had feared even to suggest (II 62, 1).

source about the year 400, show exactly such arguments for use in dialogue. But the practice went back to the middle of the century, when Zeno and Melissus entrapped their philosophic opponents by question and answer, and when Protagoras, if he was the first to do so, took the important step of adapting the method to political discussion.¹ Plato's *Euthydemus*, the dramatic date of which seems to be before 415,² speaks of the brothers Euthydemus and Dionysodorus as having long carried on their eristic trade in many parts of the Greek world (271c), and it is quite evident that Socrates was unique in practicing, not dialogue, but only dialogue. For at least the more celebrated sophists claimed equal skill in question and answer and in continuous speaking, and although their pupils doubtless had more use for the latter and practiced it more as Plato says they did (*Protag.* 329a), still they could not have been ignorant of the former. Now the reason why Socrates preferred dialogue was that it permitted more careful thought, and it is significant that the Athenians at Melos advance exactly this reason for conferring privately rather than speaking in the assembly. When they reject the latter course, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ξυνεχῆι ῥήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα εἰσάπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσιν (V 85), they make the same points against oratory that are made in the *Protagoras* (329a-b, 336c-d), namely, that it is attractive but misleading because it obscures logic and is heard only once. In sum, Protagoras' early reputation in the art and the clear proofs that it was widely practiced, being considered more suitable than oratory for close reasoning, confirm the essential good faith of Thucydides. It cannot have seemed surprising to him, and need not to us, that Athenian generals should have argued step by step with the magistrates of Melos the issues of submission or resistance.

The actual parallels to the Melian Dialogue in Euripides are fairly numerous. The Athenians begin by limiting discussion to the question of advantage (V 89-99), a topic familiar in the *Medea*,³ and when the Melians reply that they would be disgraced by not

¹ See above, p. 35, n. 1.

² A. E. Taylor, *Plato, The Man and His Work*³, London, 1929, 90.

³ See above, p. 33.

resisting (V 100), rejoin, like the kindlier Talthybius (*Tro.* 728), that the weak must not pretend to what befits the strong. Like the Trojan women, they are commanded to think simply of saving life itself (V 93. *Tro.* 729-739). When then they urge the uncertainty of the future, the Athenians crush them (V 103) with the same figure from risking all on one throw and the same reminder of the futility of mere hope that are expressed in a similar situation by the Argive Herald in the *Heraclidae* (148-149, 169-170. Cf. *Her.* 91-94, 282-283, 309-310). The Melians now advance their trust both in the gods, who, they say, will protect their righteous cause (V 104), and in Sparta. Their stand recalls the bitter lines of the *Bellerophon* (fg. 286, 10-12),

πόλεις τε μικρὰς οἶδα τιμώσας θεούς,
αἱ μειζόνων κλύνουσι δυσσεβεστέρων
λόγχης ἀριθμῶ πλείονος κρατουμέναι.

When the Athenians reply that, in acting according to the laws of nature, they themselves are not offending the gods who presumably submit to the same laws (V 105, 1-2), the thought is close to Hecuba's in the familiar line (*Tro.* 886),

Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἶτε νοῦς βροτῶν.

The passage in which they go on to remind the Melians how empty is any trust in the supremely politic Spartans (V 105, 4-109) has been mentioned above.¹ Just so, the Spartan Menelaus in the *Orestes* (718-724) is portrayed as quite capable of deserting the ties of blood when it is dangerous to defend them. The sentence in which the Athenians praise their opponents' innocence but deplore their folly (V 105, 3) recalls the line of the *Alcestis* (1093),

αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ· μωρίαν δ' ὀφλίσκάνεις.

The whole attitude of the Melians is aptly summarized in the words of Talthybius (*Tro.* 302-303),

κάρτα τοι τοῦλεύθερον
ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δυσλόφως φέρει κακά.

Finally to speak of the debate as a whole, it expounds more

¹ P. 39.

openly than any other part of Thucydides' work those principles of power which, from the Archaeology on, play a profound part in his thought, but which, nevertheless, if we may judge by his admiration of Pericles who insisted that ἀρετή must accompany power, were not to him the sole law of empire. Now Thucydides was not the only Athenian to ponder these questions; on the contrary, the rival claims of generosity and self-interest, familiar in the *Medea*, are discussed in the papyrus fragment of Antiphon's Ἀλήθεια¹ and form perhaps the central issue in the whole complex controversy of φύσις and νόμος which Plato represents as going back to this period (*Gorg.* 482c-486c; *Rep.* 338c). It can then be accepted that there were men in Athens who, like Calicles in the *Gorgias*, believed exclusively in the doctrine of power; Eteocles in the *Phoenissae* (503-506, 524-525) is, for instance, portrayed as such a man. Hence there exist no general grounds for doubting Thucydides' view that in 416 the directors of Athenian policy in fact held such ideas in regard to the empire. If, further, the previous point be granted, that the arts not merely of oratory but of dialogue were taught by the sophists and practiced by their pupils, then we must believe that such an argument as the Melian Dialogue could actually have taken place. For although, like all Thucydides' speeches, it is compressed and therefore more abstract than an actual debate would have been, yet it closely touches the thought of the time, proceeds by arguments which are familiar in Euripides and hence in Athens, and relies, as we have seen that contemporary rhetoric did rely, on general propositions to support specific proposals.

I shall say little of books six and seven, both because the main lines of comparison between Thucydides and Euripides have already been sketched and because the speeches in these books contain in fact far fewer parallels to the latter. It is true that, like the speeches of earlier books, they commonly rely on arguments from the profitable, the just, or the likely, and to that extent reveal principles of rhetoric familiar in Euripides. But he can hardly be expected to touch on the actual issues which arose in Sicily, and it is instructive that such parallels as exist in his plays are chiefly to the speeches made in Athens before the expedition and to the letter

¹ Diels, *Vorsokr.*⁴, II, nachträge, xxxiii, Col. 3.

and speeches of Nicias, who once, at least, under the stress of danger repeated familiar ideas (VII 69, 2). The argument from silence may then be of value here; for if it is true, as I think it is, that Thucydides is closest to Euripides when he sets forth what either took place at Athens or could have been directly reported there, in some cases before his own exile, then his accuracy is the more authenticated. Conversely, the common assumption that he was in Sicily and got his information on events there from local sources will likewise be confirmed.

Perhaps the chief resemblance in Euripides to the debate before the expedition lies in the conflict of interests, drawn there, between old and young (VI 12, 2-13; 18, 6). In the *Suppliants*, as we have seen, it is the young leaders who mislead the state for their own interests (*νέοις παραχθéis*, 232). The Mss. likewise give *νέων* in *Heracles* 257 as the revolutionary followers of Lycus (cf. 588-592), and the reading, although not above question, seems confirmed by the general opposition of the aged chorus to their new rulers. And if in both these passages, young leaders are portrayed as the ruin of other cities than Athens, in the *Erechtheus* (fg. 362, 21) the old king, among much advice tending to the same end, bids his son

ὁμιλίας δὲ τὰς γεραιτέρων φίλει.

Now a sense of conflict between the generations is already apparent in the *Acharnians* (esp. 702-718) and, as the parallels in Euripides show, continued in men's minds through the years shortly before and after the Peace of Nicias. It was undoubtedly connected with the policies of Alcibiades and his followers, and hence can only be expected to have flamed out with open violence in the critical debates on Sicily. Of the further parallels between the poet and the historian in the latter's estimate of Alcibiades (VI 15) enough has been said above; so also in regard to the *πολυπραγμοσύνη* of Athens, talked of in this book both by the latter (VI 18) and by Euphemus (VI 87, 2-3). Two remaining points might perhaps be mentioned. When Nicias (VI 13, 2) urges that Egesta be left to get out of the difficulties which she had entered of her own accord, he echoes the counsel of Theseus in the *Suppliants* (248-249) before the latter decides to intervene in Thebes on religious grounds. And Alci-

biades' forecast that the democracy of Syracuse could never unite or offer effective resistance (VI 17, 2-6) — a forecast disproved in the event and, although not to Thucydides' mind the primary cause of the defeat (II 65), still an important factor in it (VII 55, 2; VIII, 96, 5) — seems not to have been shared by Euripides. At least in the *Trojan Women* (220-223) he goes out of his way to praise the valor of the land of Aetna, a view which corresponds to Nicias' estimate of the approaching task (VI 20, 4), and which therefore indirectly confirms the whole substance of the debate.

The resemblances in the seventh book, with one exception to be noted below, are closest in the letter and speeches of Nicias. He wrote to the Athenians, Thucydides says (VII 8, 2), because he feared the falsification of messengers, a point made in the *Heraclidae* (292-293). And when in the letter itself he concludes his account of the army by remarking on the difficulty which he has in maintaining discipline, he makes a complaint which must have been all too familiar at Athens and which in one form or another appears several times in Euripides (*Held.* 415-424, *Hec.* 606-608, 855-861, *Suppl.* 247, *I. A.* 914). His remark that he is sending unpleasant but necessary information (VII 14, 4) recalls the very similar words of Orestes (*Elec.* 293), likewise for use in a message. In Nicias' exhortation before the great final battle in the harbor, there is little to be noted for our purpose except his reminder to the sailors what benefits they had enjoyed by living in Athens and being thought Athenians (VII 63, 3). One thinks of Jason recalling to Medea the similar benefits which she had had from Greece (*Med.* 536-541), doubly immoral words on his part, since such reminders must have been the common substance of more worthy appeals. But when the fight was near, Thucydides says, Nicias forgot formal reasoning and resorted to such old and natural pleas as Aeschylus tells were uttered at Salamis — pleas to wife, children, and ancestral gods (VII 69, 2. *Pers.* 403-405. Cf. *Septem* 14-16, Eur. *Erech.* fg. 360, 15). The passage is interesting; for it shows, what has been argued from the beginning, that Thucydides thought of the Athenians as so accustomed to polished and logical argument that only under the stress of extreme emotion would they lose their fear of that trite but universal eloquence, ἀρχαιολογεῖν, which

had been used unashamedly a half-century before. When at last the army was in retreat, Nicias sought to encourage the soldiers by recalling to them the ancient doctrine of expiation, saying that they had suffered enough for past errors and good fortune was in store (VII 77, 1-4). It is not hard to imagine that he both believed and could have expressed these ideas, which in the plays of Euripides rise naturally to men's lips in time of danger (*Her.* 101-106, *I. T.* 721-722, *Hel.* 1082, 1446-1450).

Finally, when Thucydides says of Nicias after his death that he least deserved such a fate because his whole life had been governed by principles of virtue (VII 86, 5), he echoes what seems to have been the judgement of Euripides, who at the end of the *Electra* (1351-1352) sends the Dioscouri off to Sicily to help the righteous —

οἷσιν δ' ὄσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
φίλον ἐν βίῳτῳ.

The same judgement seemingly underlies the portrait of Capaneus (*Suppl.* 861-871), which in its broad lines is apparently sketched from Nicias.¹ Thucydides' words have been wrongly suspected of a double meaning. For, although to his mind Nicias lacked qualities absolutely essential in a general and possessed by Pericles, namely, realism of outlook and the ability to control the people, still he did possess one vital attribute of the great statesman which all the other successors lacked, his uprightness. And the passages from Euripides show how profound an effect that one quality made on his contemporaries.

Since I shall say nothing of the eighth book, which lacks speeches, the review of parallel passages is now complete except in one respect, namely, the similarity between Thucydides' descriptions and the *ρήσεις* of tragedy. For, although the subject deserves far more space than can be given it here, it is worth while, if only for the sake of completeness, to observe that in seeking Thucydides' possible models for such a description as that of the battle in the

¹ Cf. P. Giles, "Political Allusions in the *Supplices* of Euripides," *Classical Review*, IV (1890), 95-98, and E. C. Marchant, *Thucydides, Book VII*, London, 1919, xxxvii.

harbor of Syracuse, one is inevitably drawn to tragedy rather than to Herodotus. From an artistic point of view, it would be hard to imagine a greater contrast than that between the descriptions of Salamis by Aeschylus and by Herodotus, and there can be little question that the account of the battle of Syracuse has much in common with the former and almost nothing with the latter. Herodotus, although he signifies the broad divisions of time in the battle (VIII 83, 2; 89, 2; 91), interrupts his account by telling who opposed whom, what Xerxes is reported to have said, what befell individual leaders on either side; his narrative does not fall into clearly marked divisions, achieves no suspense through the balance of part against part, and rises to no climax. The opposite is true of the *ῥῆσις* of the *Persae*, and one can note a marked similarity to it in the account of the battle of Syracuse. Both describe with gathering emotion the exhortations before the battle, the first successes of the ultimately beaten (VII 70, 2. *Pers.* 412), then the coupling of ships in the narrows (VII 70, 4. *Pers.* 413) and the supreme agony of conflict, and finally the flight of the defeated with outcry and groaning (VII 71, 6; οἰμωγῇ δὲ καὶ στόνῳ. *Pers.* 426-427; οἰμωγῇ δ' ὁμοῦ | κωκύμασιν). Both see each stage of the battle in relation to the whole; both pass with sure steps from the gathering to the height of the action, then to its decline and end. Their difference lies chiefly in the historian's greater detail and in his deeper interest in the feelings of combatants and spectators. And, significantly, it is in much these same respects that Euripides too departs from Aeschylus. Like Thucydides (VII 70, 7), he observes the cries in the height of an action (*Held.* 839-840, *Suppl.* 702, 711-712, *Phoen.* 1145); creates the simultaneous impression of many single struggles (VII 70, 6. *Suppl.* 683-693) and the sense of the noise and shifting fortunes of battle (*Held.* 832-838); he even portrays the effects of the struggle on observers (*Phoen.* 1388-1389, *Suppl.* 719-720), as Thucydides does at much greater length at the climax of his description (VII 71, 1-4). In short, although Thucydides, having a definite event in mind, conveys a greater sense of reality than Euripides and is more copious and exact in details and, it need hardly be said, far more moving, yet his climactic order, his interest in men's feelings, and above all, his pervading

tragic emotion betray a deep kinship with the developed *ῥήσεις* of drama. It has been said that Gorgias emulated in prose the charm of poetry.¹ Certainly it is as true to say that the tragedians, rather than Herodotus, taught Thucydides both the means by which description must proceed and the heights to which it may aspire.

Finally, I have noted a few descriptive phrases in Euripides so similar to those of the historian as to call for special mention. Early in the *Phoenissae* (161-162), Electra looking from the walls at the besieging Argives says,

ὄρῳ δῆτ' οὐ σαφῶς, ὄρῳ δέ πως
μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ' ἐξηκασμένα,

words which vividly recall the night battle on Epipolae (VII 44, 2), when men saw *ὡς ἐν σελήνῃ εἰκὸς τὴν μὲν ὄψιν τοῦ σώματος προορᾶν, τὴν δὲ γνῶσιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεῖσθαι*. And Euripides clearly alludes to the fighting at Syracuse when, later in the same play (727-728), Eteocles and Creon, canvassing methods of attack, speak first of the dangers of a sally at night and then of attacking while the enemy is at mess (cf. VII 40). As was noted above, Euripides also observes the effect of battle on the spectators: one may compare *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τὴν γνῶμην μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο* (VII 71, 3) to

πλείων δὲ τοῖς ὄρῳσιν ἐστάλασσ' ἰδρῶς
ἢ τοῖσι δρῶσι, διὰ φίλων ὀρρωδίαν

(*Phoen.* 1388-1389).

Like the encircled Plataeans (III 20, 3-4), Capaneus prepares for attack by calculating the height of the opposing walls (*Phoen.* 180-181), and Polynices entering Thebes alone feels the same terror of being surrounded by enemies (*Phoen.* 269-271) as, in the historian's account, the Thebans feel when they are first entrapped in Plataea (II 3, 4). It is, in fact, remarkable how many phrases in this one play, the *Phoenissae*, recall Thucydides. Like the defenders of Epidaurus (V 55), Eteocles will not treat with an enemy under arms (*Phoen.* 510-512); like Pericles, Jocasta says one must bear the afflictions of heaven (II 64, 2. *Phoen.* 382); like Nicias,

¹ Navarre, *Rhétorique Grecque*, 110.

Eteocles forgets under emotion the fear of triteness (VII 69, 2. *Phoen.* 438). But in all these similarities there seems to be no question of direct borrowing. Since Thucydides was recounting what he had heard from witnesses, if any one was the borrower, it should be Euripides. And yet chronology seems to make that impossible. It follows that both men had in mind events and situations commonly known. But if so, one is driven again to the conclusion made in the last paragraph: that Thucydides often sought in prose the effects hitherto achieved only in verse, or to put it in another way, that verse for its part was so affected by the rise of rhetoric that Euripides and Thucydides both in speeches and in descriptions could often work by the same methods for the same ends.

III

It remains only to summarize the conclusions reached hitherto.

(1) Certain passages of Euripides touch upon the method and outlook of the History. The poet criticizes his own predecessors, questions their criteria, and in a broader sense abandons their idealism for a more exact appraisal of life. Even, perhaps especially, the early plays and fragments show him fully conversant with such conflicts as those between decency and self-interest, right and power, word and motive, apparent and hidden cause. He can see character as molded by events and can look upon acts, usually called immoral, as the results of profound natural impulses. In short, he can be, if he by no means always is, deeply rationalistic and materialistic in outlook. No one would contend that his plays set forth the precise view of the past that Thucydides expounds in the Archaeology, or the method which he contrasts to that of his predecessors in I 20-22, or the sense of historical process which he reveals in such a passage as III 82-83. Nevertheless, as the parallels show, Euripides is familiar with many of the basic ideas in all these characteristic parts of the History. The fact does not rob Thucydides of his originality; on the contrary, it merely confirms his truth when he said that he conceived the plan of his work at the outbreak of the war. For although he doubtless spent much of his exile pondering and developing it, yet the climate in which

that plan was born was essentially the innovating, analytical, realistic climate revealed in Euripides' early plays. One must not therefore think of Thucydides as primarily an isolated figure or as one who came to his penetrating reflections merely through his own observation of a bitter war, although there is undoubtedly some justice in both these views; rather, he must appear as one who was molded in early life by the current realism of outlook towards men and states.

(2) Other and more numerous passages of Euripides show that ideas and forms of argument attributed by Thucydides to his speakers were known in Athens at or near the time when their speeches were allegedly delivered. The parallels were taken to prove, not that the speakers used those arguments, but that they could have. Of the forms of argument, those from likelihood (*εἰκός*), from profit (*τὸ συμφέρον*), and from right (*τὸ δίκαιον*) were noted as especially common in Euripides and familiar to pseudo-Xenophon. And since these arguments play a prominent part in the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, they perhaps go back to Corax and Tisias and became known in Athens through Protagoras, who visited Sicily and went as a law-giver to Thurii. It was further observed of the argument from *εἰκός* that, if it looks to the past in pleas of the court room, it must necessarily often look to the future in parliamentary speeches. Hence it forms the natural vehicle of a statesman's *προγνώσις*. Taken alone or with the argument from *συμφέρον*, it can likewise be used to show what men as a class tend to do, and it was seen that both of these uses, if necessarily commoner in Thucydides than in Euripides, are not unattested in the latter.

It is perhaps unnecessary to summarize in detail how Euripides confirms the ideas attributed by Thucydides to his speakers. Omitting much, one may say that there are parallels in the dramatist for Pericles' exposition of democratic theory in the Funeral Oration, for his plea for civic unity and his defence of *πολυπραγμοσύνη* in his third speech, for the general contrast of thought and manner in the debate between Cleon and Diodotus, for the attitude on both sides in the Melian Dialogue, and for the division between youth and age and for the difference of opinion on Syracuse in the

debate between Nicias and Alcibiades. These parallels tend to show that the speeches of Thucydides are not anachronistic but that, on the contrary, they expound ideas which the historian knew to have been familiar at the time when the speeches were delivered. They therefore create a strong presumption that he thought of his speeches, not primarily as setting forth his own ideas, but as conveying the actual policies of the speakers.

Still other parallels show that Thucydides' judgement of the Spartans, of the Athenian demagogues, of Nicias, and of Alcibiades were not peculiar to himself. In these cases he has evidently tested and adopted a wide-spread belief.

One parallel, slender evidence as it was, appeared to suggest that Thucydides felt some impropriety in attributing to Spartans the manner of speaking which, as Euripides shows, was common at Athens. On the other hand, evidence was adduced to support the reliability, in form and content, of the Melian Dialogue.

(3) Space forbade, and forbids now, any full discussion of the rhetoric of the fifth century, but a few conclusions concerning it seemed justified. First, it was seen to be traditional; hence, it was argued, Thucydides' speeches, although his own and an organic part of his work, at the same time reflect a rhetoric generally used. Thus it need not be assumed that the speeches should have varied in style far more than they in fact do if they were to reflect speeches actually delivered by different persons. Second, it was argued that in the fifth century speakers were accustomed to look at specific circumstances in the light of the general class to which those circumstances belonged. If so, the art of rhetoric implied more than a mere skill in language; it implied an ability to understand broad laws of individual and social conduct. The point is extremely important for both authors and, I trust, can sometime be developed at greater length. But one can at least say that a broad common ground between the speeches of Thucydides and the debates of the dramatist is that in both alike the concrete issues at hand are looked on as not, so to speak, interpretable in and through themselves, but only through the more universal laws which they exemplify.

All the arguments hitherto adduced tend to confirm what Thu-

cydides reports was done and said in Greece during the years of which he writes. I have necessarily been concerned almost entirely with evidence favorable to his accuracy; for that is the evidence which Euripides supplies. I have notably failed to discuss the details of Thucydides' style, wherein has been found the chief argument against seeing in his speeches the true image of an earlier Athens. And it must freely be confessed that the exiled historian would have had every reason and every opportunity to achieve an abstractness peculiar to himself, and that he may besides have felt the influence of stylistic fashions which became wide-spread only after he left Athens. But I would urge in defence, first, that his speeches are extremely compressed. Any of them can be read in less than half an hour, whereas, to judge by extant Attic orations, speeches were commonly much longer. Thus they are to be looked on as giving the essence, not the substance, of arguments.¹ Then, second, the fullest treatment of Thucydides' language points out that the so-called Gorgian figures, although common, are not in any sense the primary instrument of his style.² Moreover, these figures seem to have been not unknown in Athens even before the visit there of the famous rhetorician in 427.³ One may cite *Medea* 408-409 (cf. *Soph. Ajax* 1085-1086, *O. T.* 125),

γυναικες, ἐς μὲν ἔσθλ' ἀμυχανώταται,
κακῶν δὲ πάντων τέκτονες σοφώταται,

and the sentence attributed by Stesimbrotus to Pericles and seemingly harboring his own words (*Plut. Per.* 8 *ad fin.*), οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους

¹ Cf. the judgement of Blass on the tetralogies of Antiphon (*Attische Beredsamkeit*,² I, 150), "Die Reden der Tetralogien sind Skizzen wirklicher, nicht Abbilder."

² F. Rittelmeyer, *Thukydides und die Sophistik*, Leipzig, 1915, 99-102.

³ Navarre, *op. cit.*, 102-109, observes a great increase of these figures in Sophocles over Aeschylus, although, as Schmid remarks, the manner is merely an inheritance from the older Greek gnomic tradition (cf. W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München, 1934, I, 2, 483). But when the early plays of Sophocles were probably influenced by the antithetical debates of Protagoras (see above, p. 35), it is unreasonable to deny that early sophistic prose, itself inheriting the same gnomic tradition, should have been entirely a stranger to these figures. Gorgias may well have been an innovator only in the degree to which he applied what had been known before.

ὀρώμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα. And finally, when we are uncertain how early the 'Ἀλήθεια of the sophist Antiphon is to be dated¹ or how representative the style of pseudo-Xenophon may be considered to be, it is extremely hazardous to argue on grounds of style alone that Thucydides does not in a real sense echo the Athens of Pericles. For the parallels between his History and the plays of Euripides make it abundantly clear both that he was himself deeply affected by ideas current there before his exile and that he attributes to his speakers thoughts and forms of argument which were equally well known.

¹ Cf. W. Aly, "Formprobleme der Frühen Griechischen Prosa," *Philologus*, Supplementband XXI, Heft III (1929), 153-154, where it is dated somewhat before the outbreak of the war. Its style is severely antithetical, far more so than that of pseudo-Xenophon. Cf. (Diels, *Vorsokr.*⁴, II, xxii, Col. 2) τὰ οὖν νόμιμα παραβαίνων ἔαν λάθῃ τοὺς ὁμολογήσαντας, καὶ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ζημίας ἀπήλληκται· μὴ λαθὼν δ' οὐ· τῶν δὲ τῇ φύσει ξυμφύτων ἔαν τι παρὰ τὸ δυνατόν βιάζεται, ἔαν τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους λάθῃ, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τὸ κακόν, ἔαν τε πάντες ἴδωσιν, οὐδὲν μείζον.

ARISTOPHANES AND THE ART OF RHETORIC¹

BY CHARLES T. MURPHY

I

ALTHOUGH the growth of the new rhetoric in the last third of the fifth century has often been noted and studied in connection with Tragedy and History, as far as I can discover no investigation of its influence on Old Attic Comedy has ever appeared. The handbooks on the subject mention various parodies and echoes of rhetorical doctrines in the plays of Aristophanes and the other comic poets, but the usual attitude toward the subject is represented by Blass, who says that in opposition to Tragedy, Comedy generally attacked the new type of education.² Further than this his work does not go. While it is undoubtedly true that Aristophanes condemned rhetoric on moral and political grounds, the problem does not end there. On re-reading the plays I became convinced that he shows a real familiarity with the principles of rhetoric and made frequent use of the new art to present his ideas.

¹ The following works, cited more than once in this paper, are referred to by the author's name alone, or by an abbreviated title:

Aly, W., "Formprobleme der Frühen Griechischen Prosa," *Philologus Sup.* XXI (1929).

Blass, F., *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*² (Leipzig, 1887).

Diels, H., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁵ (Berlin, 1934-5).

Lees, J. T., *Δικαικὸς Λόγος in Euripides* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1891).

Navarre, O., *Essai sur la Rhétorique Grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900).

Spengel, L., *Anaximenis Ars Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (Turici et Vitoduri, 1844). (Quoted as *Rh. ad Alex.*)

Spengel, L., *Συναγωγή Τεχνῶν* (Stuttgartiae, 1828).

Starkie, W. J. M., *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London, 1909).

Zieliński, T., *Die Gliederung der Altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885).

Citations from Aristophanes are from the text of Hall and Geldart (Oxford, 1906). For the speeches and fragments of Antiphon, references are to the edition of F. Blass² (Lipsiae, 1892).

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor C. N. Jackson for his original suggestion from which this paper was developed, and for his many helpful criticisms in the course of its composition.

² Blass I 45.

Many of his longer speeches are well-organized, and the formal divisions of the rhetorical speech are clearly discernible; furthermore the parts of the speech fulfill the functions assigned to them by the later handbooks of rhetoric. An especially fruitful comparison may be made with the rules set forth in the anonymous *Rhetoric to Alexander*; this work, which was erroneously ascribed to Aristotle in Byzantine times, seems to represent an earlier type of τέχνη than the genuine *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. It lacks the keen insight and broad generalizations of the philosopher's work and is content to set forth, by precept and example, the lines which an orator should follow under various circumstances. This combination of precept and example, with its purely practical aim, must represent fairly closely the form of the earliest handbooks of rhetoric; some such work may have been available to the orator of Aristophanes' day.¹ For this reason I have illustrated the speeches of Aristophanes with citations from the *Rhetoric to Alexander* wherever possible. The orators also provide some interesting parallels. However, I do not claim to prove that Aristophanes had first-hand knowledge of any of the τέχναι of the fifth century; rather, this paper is an attempt to point out and illustrate a feature of Aristophanes' art which has been either overlooked or neglected. I shall first treat the direct criticisms of rhetoric by our poet, since

¹ Cf. Aristotle *Soph. Elench.* 34. 183b 36: λόγους γὰρ οἱ μὲν (i.e. the earlier teachers) ῥητορικοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐρωτητικοὺς ἐδίδονσαν ἐκμανθάνειν. . . . Accordingly, Diels conjectures (Gorgias B14) that the *Helen* and *Palamedes* originally stood in the τέχνη of Gorgias. Similarly, Antiphon published a collection of stock proems and epilogues (Blass I 115) and the τέχνη μεγάλη of Thrasyarchus probably contained sample προοίμια and ἐπίλογοι (or ἔλεοι), if not entire speeches (Diels II 322 and 325). In addition to these works the fifth century orator might use the work of Tisias which Gorgias probably brought to Athens in 427, if indeed Tisias himself did not come on the same embassy (Paus. VI 17). The meager remains of these works will be cited in this paper whenever possible, but in view of our slight knowledge of rhetorical theory in this period later works must also be used.

As for the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, the author of the spurious letter to Alexander which prefaces the work says the book combines Aristotle's *Rhetoric to Theodectes* with the *Art* of Corax. Navarre, App. 2, accepts this statement as substantially true. Without going so far as this I am convinced that the work contains a large amount of fifth century rhetoric.

I believe that his attacks have been generally over-emphasized and misunderstood by the writers of our handbooks on rhetoric; then the question of his actual use of rhetoric will be taken up and treated at length.

II

The attitude of Aristophanes toward the new education of his day is almost too well-known to need illustration; not only did he devote an entire play, which he considered the cleverest of his comedies,¹ to an attack on the sophists, but in almost every other play extant he pays his respects to these contemporary Professors of Education and teachers of Public Speaking. Since rhetoric formed a large part of this new education, some of the poet's wittiest shafts are directed at the mannerisms and aims of this new art. In part this is mere ridicule of the elaborate modes of expression and over-subtle distinctions of the new style of speaking — the λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδάλαμοι of the sophists.² Such mockery appears in the earliest of Aristophanes' plays, the *Δαιταλῆς*, produced in 427, the very year that Gorgias first appeared in Athens. The general outline of this lost play is fairly certain: it contrasted two brothers, whom Aristophanes later characterized as ὁ σώφρων and ὁ καταπύγων, the former trained in the old-fashioned school of education, the latter a product of the sophistic training. In fr. 198 K. we are given an example of the style which the unprincipled brother had learned from his masters; his companion (presumably his father) laughs at his neologisms and mockingly suggests a source for each of them. It may be noted that even at this early date Aristophanes connects the new style with the hated professional politicians, the ῥήτορες (v. 4: τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων) and the ξυνήγοροι (v. 9: τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγόρων τερατεύεται;). The connection of rhetoric with the politicians, against which Aristophanes protests in his extant plays, will be treated more fully later in this paper.³ In the *Babylonii* it is probable that Aristophanes poked fun at another trait of the new speakers, an inordinate fondness for diminutive

¹ *Nub.* 522.

² *Nub.* 130.

³ *Infra*, pp. 75-8.

tives.¹ A parody in the *Knights* is directed at another affectation of the new style, a fondness for adjectives in *-ικός*.² Naturally, such passages as these involve no moral censure; they are directed merely at a new style of composition, and are no more to be taken as serious criticism of the art as a whole than the many similar passages which parody the high-flown style of the new dithyrambic poets.³ Yet as a matter of fact these playful parodies form a valid criticism of the style of early rhetoric, and eventually the better speakers freed themselves from such mannerisms.

But Aristophanes' criticism goes deeper than this. First, on the question of style, he points out that a speaker trained in the new rhetoric may use his talents to deceive the jury and bewilder his opponent so thoroughly that the trial loses all semblance of fairness. The chorus in the *Acharnians* describes just such a case (676-691); the typical older citizen, when dragged into court by one of these *νεανίσκοι ῥήτορες*, is so dazzled by the rolling periods⁴ and "verbal mouse-traps" of his opponent that he "leaves the court condemned and mulcted of the price of his shroud." It is the effect, then, of this new style on its hearers that the old men fear. No wonder (they say) that the old noble, Thucydides, was stunned when he fell into the hands of one of these "babbling prosecutors" (702-712).

But it was not only the verbal brilliance of these speakers that deceived the audience; the new rhetoric taught the art of enticing

¹ Aristotle *Rhet.* III 2. 1405b 29 (= Aristophanes fr. 90 K.): ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὑποκορισμὸς . . . ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις κτλ. Although diminutives are frequent in all Old Comedy, the word *σκώπτει* surely indicates that someone is parodied, and the context of Aristotle suggests some early speaker. Bergk has suggested Gorgias; it is not necessary to be so precise about the object of the satire, and in any case the few extant fragments of Gorgias show no great fondness for diminutives.

² *Eq.* 1377-1381.

³ E.g., *Av.* 1372-1409.

⁴ *Ach.* 686: *στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασι*; cf. fr. 471: *τῷ στρογγύλῳ* (of Euripides); Plato *Phaedr.* 234e, *στρογγύλα* (of Lysias). This "well-rounded" or "spherical" style well describes the antithetical, periodic style then being taught; but these rhetors cannot be the pupils of Gorgias, the chief exponent of this style, who did not settle in Athens until the year after this play (v. Starkie *Acharnians ad loc.*, Blass I 50).

the favor (εὔνοια) of one's hearers by skilful flattery. Since Aristophanes attacks this trick several times in the *Acharnians*, it seems probable that he himself had suffered from its effects in his trial the year before. "I know," he says (through Dicaeopolis), "the way of these farmer-folk; they rejoice if some juggling humbug (ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών) flatters them and the city, rightly or wrongly, without seeing how they are bought and sold." And he adds a few lines later, "I know what I myself suffered from Cleon on account of my last year's Comedy."¹ Cleon also used another method of gaining favor in this trial: διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῇ κατεγλώττιζέ μου (380). This use of διαβολή to gain good-will for oneself by slandering the opposition is well-known to the handbooks of rhetoric, which give rules both for arousing and allaying such prejudice.² Again, in the speech of Dicaeopolis in the same play, he remarks, "Cleon cannot slander (διαβαλεῖ) me now" (*Ach.* 502); similarly, in the parabasis, διαβαλλόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κτλ. (630). Here the chorus continues with praise for its poet, "who keeps you from being deceived by the speakers and delighting in their flattery."³ The same rhetorical trick is expressly condemned in the *Knights*; the "reconstructed Demos" hears with horror of his former gullibility. "What was I like?" he asks. The Sausage-Seller answers:

πρῶτον μὲν, ὁπότ' εἴποι τις ἐν τήκκλησίᾳ,
 'ὦ Δῆμ' ἐραστής εἰμι σὸς φιλῶ τέ σε
 καὶ κήδομαί σου καὶ προβουλεύω μόνος,
 τούτοις ὁπότε χρήσαιτό τις προοιμίῳ,
 ἀνωρτάλιζες κάκερουτίας.⁴

¹ *Ach.* 370-8. Presumably he had suffered from Cleon's skill in prosecuting as well as from the dicasts' fondness for "verdict-biting." Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 28.3, gives an interesting light on Cleon's general style of speaking: . . . καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων. If this style of declaiming was becoming prevalent, Aristophanes would have another valid reason for attacking the political rhetoric of Cleon: he offended his sense of decorum and the ideal of decency in manners and appearance for which he pleads in his glowing description of the ἀρχαία παιδεία (*Nub.* 961-1023).

² Aristotle *Rhet.* III 14-15; and especially *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, 36.

³ *Ach.* 634-5: παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι, | μήθ' ᾗδεσθαι θωπευομένους. . . .

⁴ *Eq.* 1340-4.

Demos can hardly believe that he was foolish enough to be taken in by such stuff. As the word *προοιμίους* shows, we have here an early common-place for the opening of a deliberative speech; flattery of one's audience is always most frequent in the proem, as Aristophanes could hardly fail to notice.

Such flattery, when used by unscrupulous and self-seeking men, easily passes into the most gross and nauseating sort of boot-licking. And so it is worth while to turn from the art of rhetoric itself to Aristophanes' opinion of the men who practised it. As far as the teachers were concerned, the *Clouds* was doubtless meant as an attack on the profession as a whole; and the most serious charge against them is neatly summed up by Strepsiades' words:

οὔτοι διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδῶ,
λέγοντα νικᾶν καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα.¹

The charge is double: they not only teach the unjust cause to conquer, but actually take money for it. Aside from the sweeping condemnation of the sophists as a group set forth in this play, a few minor observations on the teachers of rhetoric are scattered throughout the other plays. The *ξενικοί λόγοι* by which the Athenians are deceived may refer to the foreign origin of most of the sophists, a slur calculated to appeal to the deep-rooted distrust of foreigners felt by the lower classes of every democracy.² This sentiment is echoed some years later in the *Birds*: *βάρβαροι δ' εἰσὶν γένος, | Γοργῖαι τε καὶ Φίλιπποι*.³ Not only their antecedents but also their character is attacked in this passage; Aristophanes wilfully confuses the sophists with sycophants, as the word *συκάζουσι* (1699) shows. This confusion of sophists and sycophants may be paralleled in *Vesp.* 1037-1042. In this passage he states that the *Clouds* was an attack on those "agues and fevers" who attack peaceable citi-

¹ *Nub.* 98-9.

² *Ach.* 634. It is, of course, possible that this passage is merely another criticism of the strange style of the new speakers; cf. *τὸ ξενικόν*, strangeness or affectation of style, Aristotle *Rhet.* III 2. 1405a 8. But Starkie, *Acharnians ad loc.*, admits the possibility of a reference to Gorgias and the famous embassy of 427; so also the Scholiast: *ξενικοῖς, τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων πρέσβεων λεγομένοις*.

³ *Av.* 1700-1.

zens and drag them into court — i.e., the sycophants. Despite the objections of Zieliński, Starkie, and other literal-minded editors, these lines must refer to the *Clouds*,¹ and contribute to the confusion of sophists with sycophants which Aristophanes tries to instill in the minds of his audience. Similarly, in *Av.* 285, the noble Callias is called “the prey of the sycophants”; as his generosity to sophists was well-known, the audience would get the point.

But the strongest condemnation is reserved for those who practise this new art in political life, i.e., the professional politicians, οἱ ῥήτορες. It is generally admitted that the pupils of the sophists were principally from the upper class, those who could afford their high fees. And it is true enough that in the *Clouds* the chorus, describing the happy life which awaits the new pupil of Socrates, uses words which irresistibly suggest Antiphon, the chief consulting-lawyer of the day: “Aye, many a man shall sit at your door, wishing an interview, seeking a consultation (συμβουλευσομένους) on cases worth many talents.”² None the less the true aristocrat of this play, the young Pheidippides, will have nothing to do with these teachers. “Who are these men?” he asks suspiciously; Strepsiades cannot remember their names, but he assures his son that they are “subtle thinkers and true gentlemen” (καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί). “Bah!” cries Pheidippides in great disgust. “Nay, they’re rogues; I know them.” (αἰβοῖ, πονηροὶ γ’, οἶδα.)³ The political implications of these words are well-known; Pheidippides rejects these self-styled aristocrats and classes them with the radical democrats. Accordingly, it is against the use of rhetoric by the demagogues and leaders of the extreme democrats that

¹ The main objection is that these lines do not exactly describe the plot of the *Clouds* (so Zieliński *Gliederung* 42; cf. Starkie, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London, 1897), *ad loc.*); it may be suggested that they were never meant to describe the plot of the play, but are merely a description of the character of these sophist-sycophants, just as the lines that precede these describe not the plot of the *Knights* but the character of Cleon. Whether or not the sophists were sycophants and did drag the peaceable citizens to court is beside the point.

² *Nub.* 467-475. Cf. Thuc. VIII 68, on Antiphon: πλεῖστα εἰς ἀνὴρ, ὅστις συμβουλεύσασαί τι, δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν.

³ *Nub.* 100-2.

Aristophanes protests most strongly. The young orator who brings the old citizens to grief in the courts is a *ξυνήγορος*, paid by the state to prosecute the case.¹ Such men, the chorus of Acharnians complains, are no better than the foreign policemen of Athens (707); their claim to citizenship is doubtful (704), their morals unspeakable (716), and the name chosen for one of them — *Μαρψίας* (702, from *μάρπτειν*) — succinctly describes the most salient characteristic of the class. The gentleman's instinctive dislike for the professional, which appears to lie at the root of much of Aristophanes' hatred of the demagogues, is clearly expressed by Bdelycleon in the *Wasps*; he cannot stomach the dissolute young striplings who pocket the "state-counsel's fee" of a drachma.² In the same passage he attacks their arrogance, their effeminacy, and their readiness to fix cases for a consideration; this is, of course, another instance of Aristophanes' attacks on the venality of the politicians.³

It is not within the scope of this paper to treat Aristophanes' attacks on the politicians as such. But it is worth noting a few passages which indicate the connection of these demagogues with the art of rhetoric. As was suggested above, one of the branches of this art was devoted to methods of securing the favor of one's hearers; and the democratic orators, in their efforts to secure and keep the good-will of the populace, descended to the basest and most unblushing expressions of flattery and servility. They repeat *ad nauseam* their devotion to the democracy, and harp on their services to the masses. Such phrases are scornfully parodied by Aristophanes; the Paphlagonian (Cleon) in the *Knights* asserts his love for Demos in words redolent of democratic oratory:

εἰ δέ σε μισῶ καὶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ μάχομαι μόνος ἀντιβιβηκώς,
ἀπολοίμην . . .⁴

One of the delights of the old dicast is to hear such phrases as

¹ *Ach.* 685: *ἐαυτῷ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν*.

² *Vesp.* 691, τὸ ξυνηγορικόν. Cf. the complaint against the sophists for taking fees, *Nub.* 98.

³ Cf. C. N. Jackson, "The Decree-seller in the *Birds*, and the Professional Politicians at Athens," *H.S.C.P.* XXX (1919), 89-102.

⁴ *Eq.* 767-8.

“οὐχὶ προδώσω ὑμᾶς, περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους μαχοῦμαι.”¹ In a similar style the sycophant in the *Plutus* praises his own devotion to the interests of the state.² In fact, such expressions of loyalty and devotion are so frequent and stereotyped that Bdelycleon in the *Wasps* can say:

ἐς τούτους τοὺς ‘οὐχὶ προδώσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυρτόν,
ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀεί.’³

and mean nothing more than, “these democratic orators.” He then adds the specific charge that charmed by such phrases as these the populace sets rulers over itself. And yet, as Aristophanes scathingly points out elsewhere, these numerous speakers who “alone champion the masses” have their own champion, ἀναίδειαν, ἥπερ μόνῃ προστατεῖ ῥητόρων.⁴ In later periods the better orators were careful to guard against this charge of flattering their audience; Demosthenes is always careful to distinguish himself from those orators who spoke πρὸς χάριν or πρὸς ἡδονήν, a class of speaker which still flourished in the fourth century.⁵

Many other passages echo stock phrases of the orators; the effect of this type of parody is particularly biting when a character wishes to conceal a selfish motive with a high and noble sentiment. Thus, the citizen in the *Ecclesiazusae* who could not bring himself to contribute his property to the new communistic state none the less will go to the banquet:

τὰ δυνατὰ γὰρ δεῖ τῇ πόλει ξυλλαμβάνειν
τοὺς εἶς φρονοῦντας.⁶

In the same play, the First Hag expresses her devotion to the democratic laws in words apparently borrowed from the law-courts:

κατὰ τὸν νόμον ταῦτα ποιεῖν
ἔστι δίκαιον, εἰ δημοκρατούμεθα.⁷

¹ *Vesp.* 593.

² *Pl.* 911-2.

³ *Vesp.* 666-7.

⁴ *Eq.* 325.

⁵ Cf. Demosthenes *Olyn.* III 3; *Phil.* I 51; *Phil.* III 2.

⁶ *Ecc.* 861-2.

⁷ *Ecc.* 944-5.

The Second Hag uses a similar parody; when the youth shouts for help as she drags him along, she replies: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἔλκει σε.¹

In the *Clouds* Pheidippides, after his schooling, expounds the laws of Solon in a thoroughly democratic sense, beginning with the general observation: ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν.² Again there is a sly dig at the rhetorical subterfuges of the time: if the literal meaning of the law is against you, attempt to show that the law may be interpreted in another sense, or that the framer of the law had a different purpose in mind.³

This passage may serve to terminate our investigation of Aristophanes' attacks on rhetoric. Pheidippides, who had entered the school of the sophists as a young aristocrat, comes out as a democratic rhetor, willing and able to pervert justice and twist the truth for selfish ends. The democratic orators as a group use their rhetorical training to overwhelm less skilled citizens in court, to dupe the mass of citizens into an uncritical acceptance of their leadership, while they themselves line their own pockets and ruin the state. Such, in brief, is the charge of Aristophanes against the new rhetoric of his day.

III

The foregoing remarks illustrate a point which might perhaps have been granted without demonstration, namely, that Aristophanes had strong feelings against the art of rhetoric. And although the largest part of this feeling is based on political grounds,

¹ *Ecc.* 1055-6. This was a frequent method of defense in the courts; cf. Lysias I 26 and *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 82 (Sp.), where examples of questions and answers are given: "ἀπέκτεινάς μου τὸν υἱόν;" "οὐκ ἔγωγε ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος." This is the second of the three main types of defense, called ἀντίστασις (*constitutio iuridicialis absoluta*) by later rhetoricians.

² *Nub.* 1187; "... a standing compliment to Solon in the orators" (Starkie *Clouds ad loc.*); Van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Nubes* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1898), *ad loc.* suggests that it was a means of gaining "benevolentiam" of judges.

³ Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 77 (Sp.), for advice on distorting the law to suit your case: χρῆ διδάσκειν ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης οὐ τοῦτο διανοεῖτο. Cf. also Demosthenes XXII 30.

as the passages cited show, it must be granted that Aristophanes also objects to the art itself, particularly when it is mixed with poetry. One of the charges against Euripides is that he has contaminated Tragedy with rhetoric.¹ None the less, for all his criticisms, Aristophanes himself makes frequent use of this new art. Old Attic Comedy is primarily a drama of ideas, a dramatized battle of conflicting principles; the poet is in part a propagandist, and in his desire to present his ideas as forcefully and convincingly as possible he cannot afford to overlook any weapon whatsoever. That Aristophanes was acquainted with many of the devices of the current rhetoric is clear from the parodies discussed above; the use to which he put this knowledge in the composition of his comedies is the subject now to be considered.

In several plays Aristophanes presents the unpopular side of a public question: e.g., he argues for peace in the *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*, and supports the anti-Cleon party in 424, at the height of Cleon's popularity; in other plays the speaker finds himself forced to address a hostile audience — a woman speaking among men, a man addressing the Birds, the kinsman of Euripides defending his cousin before the irate women. In all such cases, in order to conciliate his audience and gain a hearing for the cause he presents, Aristophanes has recourse to those very arts of flattery which he condemns in others. It is the purpose of the remaining part of this paper to investigate and clarify this feature of Aristophanes' comic art.

The word ἀγών is frequently used to denote the comic contest; indeed, since the work of Zieliński on Old Attic Comedy² it has been regularly used of the formal, epirrhetic debate which occurs, more or less complete, in all but three of these comedies. But there is no doubt that Aristophanes himself used the word in a wider sense, meaning any controversy or altercation, a trial or action before the chorus or audience, which is to be thought of as a jury. In the *Acharnians* (a play which actually lacks a formal Agôn) the word occurs several times, notably just before Dicaeopolis' brilliant speech of defense:

¹ Cf. *Pax* 534; *Ran.* 771-6, 954-8, 1069.

² Th. Zieliński, *Die Gliederung der Altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885).

ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα,
μέλλων ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρῶν λέγειν; ¹

The same usage occurs in *Vesp.* 532-3: ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὥς | σοι μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγῶν, and four times in the *Frogs*.² In short, his use of the word in such circumstances does not differ from that of Euripides, who frequently employs it to introduce his ῥημάτια δίκανικά.³ This use of the word is apparently borrowed from the schools of rhetoric and the law-courts; not only did Corax give the name ἀγῶνες to the main portion of a speech (apparently including both διήγησις and πίστεις⁴), but the word occurs frequently in the orators in the sense of a trial before a law-court.⁵ It seems probable that both Euripides and Aristophanes, in reproducing on the stage many of the features of an Athenian court and in adopting the technique of the trained speakers, also appropriated the technical word to describe the process, i.e., the ἀγῶν, the rhetorical or legal debate.

Not all the passages to be considered in this paper consist of continuous speeches. Although several excellent long speeches exist, far more frequently the speaker is interrupted. These interruptions usually serve a comic purpose, in keeping the general level of the passage within the limits imposed by Comedy.⁶ Further, apart from their comic value, such interruptions serve to enliven the proceedings by keeping a conversational, informal

¹ *Ach.* 481-2. Here obviously the words refer to the speech which follows. In 392 the meaning is essentially the same, where it is combined with σκῆψιν, another legal word (v. Rogers, *Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London, 1910), *ad loc.*); in 504, οὐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν, it may refer to the speech or to the comic contest in general.

² *Ran.* 785, 867, 873, 883. Of course, it is unnecessary to add that ἀγῶν appears in other contexts in its various other meanings.

³ Lees *Δικ. Λόγος* 6.

⁴ According to *Prolegg. in Hermog.* (quoted in Spengel, *Συναγωγὴ Τεχνῶν*, p. 25), he separated the διήγησις from the πίστεις, making five divisions in all; but Navarre (15-6) demonstrates that the earlier division must have been προῤῥμιον, ἀγῶνες, ἐπιλογος.

⁵ The word also occurs in this sense in Aeschylus *Eum.* 677; cf. Aly 38, who sees in this whole scene the earliest extant example of Attic legal oratory.

⁶ E.g., the vulgar jokes of Euelpides during the speech of Peisthetaerus in *Av.* 467-626.

spirit. It must be admitted that occasionally only the beginning of the speech shows any real flavor of rhetoric; after a formal *προοίμιον* the issue is presented in question-and-answer form — a method which is fatal for the devices of formal rhetoric, as Socrates well knew. Nevertheless, if we disregard the interruptions, the remarks of the principal speaker may be treated as a continuous whole; if this freedom in treatment be granted, there are fifteen speeches in the eleven plays worth investigating from the rhetorical point of view, varying in length from twenty-three lines to well over a hundred.¹ Examples of both the *γένος δικανικόν* and *γένος συμβουλευτικόν* are found; some speeches partake of the nature of both. No example of the *γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν* exists.

Practically every speech has a clearly defined *προοίμιον*; it is sometimes highly elaborate and developed.² More often it consists of a mere statement of the case or subject to be discussed, as the opening lines of the speech of the Δίκαιος Λόγος in the *Clouds* (961-2):

λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς διέκειτο,
ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἤνθουν καὶ σωφροσύνη 'νενόμιστο.

Occasionally the speaker begins with a mere *πρόθεσις*, the simplest form of *προοίμιον*; so Strepsiades in *Nub.* 1353-4:

καὶ μὴν ὅθεν γε πρῶτον ἡρξάμεσθα λοιδορεῖσθαι
ἐγὼ φράσω.

Or Philocleon in the *Wasps* (548-9):

καὶ μὴν εὐθύς γ' ἀπὸ βαλβίδων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξω
τῆς ἡμετέρας ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττων ἐστὶν βασιλείας.

¹ A classified list of the speeches may be helpful at this point. A rough classification of the speeches may be made as follows: (1) Continuous speeches, or speeches in which the interruptions are brief and are disregarded by the speaker: *Ach.* 496-556, *Vesp.* 548-630, *Lys.* 1124-1161, *Thesm.* 383-432, *Thesm.* 466-519, *Ecc.* 171-240. (2) Speeches in which the interruptions are brief, but form part of the argument: *Nub.* 961-1023, *Nub.* 1036-1104, *Nub.* 1353-1390, *Nub.* 1399-1445, *Vesp.* 650-724. (3) Speeches in which the interruptions are numerous, or which are almost in dialogue form: *Vesp.* 907-930, *Vesp.* 950-979, *Av.* 467-626, *Lys.* 507-597.

² E.g., *Ach.* 496-512; *infra* p. 101.

It will be noticed that in these three cases the speaker is assured of the favor of his audience at the outset by the justice or popularity of his case; hence no rhetorical tricks are necessary to secure *εὐνοια*.¹

The simple *πρόθεσις* usually occurs as part of the *προοίμιον*, as in the last three passages cited.² However, it is twice placed at the end of the *διήγησις*, in *Lys.* 551-4, and *Ecc.* 209-211; in both cases the proposal is the same, to turn the state over to the women, and the *πρόθεσις* is probably delayed for the sake of the surprise.

A full *narratio* or *διήγησις* seldom occurs, and Aristophanes never uses the regular phrase of the orators to introduce a *narratio*: *ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων ἀποδείξω* or the like. This omission need cause no surprise, as we usually know the antecedent facts from the play itself; the orators regularly omit the *διήγησις* if the facts are known. But note in the passages just cited from the *Clouds* and *Wasps*, the phrases: *ἐγὼ φράσω* and *ἀποδείξω*. Strepsiades continues with a narration of the events within the house which led up to his quarrel with his son, while Philocleon bases his whole case on a narration of the many delights of a dicast. A complete *διήγησις* (or *ἀπαγγελία* as the author of the *Rhetoric to Alexander* calls it) occurs in *Ecc.* 176-208: the speaker, before advancing her definite proposal to turn the state over to the women, relates the antecedent facts — the mismanagement of the state by the men. Similarly, Lysistrata in her argument with the Proboulos³ first lists the mistakes and stupidity of the men.

The *πίστεις* or *βεβαίωσις* occurs regularly, and usually forms the bulk of the longer speeches. One peculiarity calls for notice: in the *Clouds* the Just Reason seems to think that a mere description of the old education will suffice; the Unjust Reason interrupts him (984) with the remark that these things have a musty flavor, and the speaker is then forced to justify his form of education with a

¹ Cf. the advice in *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, p. 55 (Sp.): *ἐὰν μὲν οὖν εὖνοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, περίεργον λέγειν περὶ εὐνοίας.*

² The *Rh. ad Alex.* regularly treats the *πρόθεσις* as part of the *προοίμιον*; for a longer statement or narration of the antecedent facts the word *ἀπαγγελία* is used.

³ *Lys.* 507-597.

further demonstration: "This was the training that produced the Marathonomachai." Similarly, Strepsiades is content to show that his son has beaten him; Pheidippides interrupts, οὔκουν δικάίως κτλ. (1377), and Strepsiades is forced to add further arguments to the effect that it is *not* just. The "mock-trial" in the *Wasps* offers a similar case: the defense admits the facts, so the prosecutor limits his arguments to demonstrating that the act was contrary to the interests of the democracy. Similar treatment of the *πίστεις* occurs in the orators and is recommended in the handbooks.¹

The *ἐπίλογος* is less regular in its appearance and form. Occasionally it consists of a brief summary, as *Ach.* 555: ταῦτ' οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν ἐδρᾶτε, or a sort of Q. E. D., as *Vesp.* 619: "Since this is so, is it not true that I have a mighty empire?" The defendant's speech in the trial scene of the same play ends with the weeping and supplication of his "children," an amusing parody of Athenian law-court practice.² Deliberative speeches sometimes end with a definite proposal or formal motion, as *Lys.* 1161: τί δ' οὐ διηλλάγητε; or *Thesm.* 428: νῦν οὖν ἐμοὶ τοῦτω δοκέῃ | ὄλεθρόν τιν' ἡμᾶς κυρκανᾶν. Or the speaker may promise success and prosperity if his suggestions are adopted, as *Ecc.* 239-240.³ In all these passages Aristophanes seems to follow the practice of the orators. But sometimes a formal *ἐπίλογος* is lacking, crowded out, as it were, by the dramatic necessity: Aristophanes' desire for liveliness prompts him to break off the speech and substitute something more spirited. The Unjust Reason in the *Clouds* ends his speech with a burlesque demonstration of the prevalence of "εὐρυπρωκτία," and in place of a final summary the Just Reason admits himself beaten: ἡττήμεθ' ὧ κινούμενοι.⁴ Later in the same play, Pheidippides, in his defense, offers to prove that it is just to beat his mother too; this is too much for Strepsiades and the speech ends on the spot.⁵ In the debate with the

¹ Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 76 (Sp.): τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσται βεβαίωσις, ἂν μὲν ἀντιλέγηται τὰ πράγματα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων, ἐκ τῶν πίστεων ἂν δὲ ὁμολογῇται, ἐκ τῶν δικάων καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων κτλ.

² *Vesp.* 975-8; cf. 567-571, where Philocleon includes these supplications in his list of the entertainment offered to the dicasts.

³ Cf. *Ecc.* 689-710, the end of Praxagora's exposition of the new régime.

⁴ *Nub.* 1085-1104.

⁵ *Nub.* 1443-6.

Proboulos in the *Lysistrata*, each epirrhema concludes with a little scene which symbolizes the results of the argument: first the women deck the Proboulos in the garments of a woman and give him wool to card (532-8); in the corresponding system they fit him out as a corpse and send him off (598-607). This scene takes the place of a full ἐπίλογος, although a partial peroration may be seen in *Lysistrata*'s last words, 594-7.¹

The speeches are filled with phrases that mark off the parts of the speech and give the hearer a clue to the course of the argument. Such phrases are usually an indication of conscious rhetorical art; they are totally lacking in the great speeches of the ninth *Iliad*, which are models of natural eloquence; they are rare in the debates in the early plays of Sophocles;² on the other hand, they are most frequent in the plays of Euripides³ and the fifth century orators. In Aristophanes the διήγησις is once introduced by ἐγὼ φράσω (*Nub.* 1354), once by ἀποδείξω (*Vesp.* 548). ἐγὼ διδάξω is used to introduce the πίστεις in *Ecc.* 215.⁴ A series of facts or arguments is often introduced by πρῶτον μὲν, πρῶτα, or the like (*Nub.* 963, *Vesp.* 552, *Vesp.* 656, *Av.* 483, *Thesm.* 476, *Ecc.* 215). This is occasionally answered by εἶτα (*Nub.* 964, *Nub.* 975, *Vesp.* 560) or the argument is continued with εἰεν to mark the transition (*Nub.* 1075, *Thesm.* 407). An argument is often emphasized by some such word as σκέψαι (*Nub.* 1043, *Nub.* 1071, *Vesp.* 601, *Vesp.* 698) or φέρε (*Ach.* 541, *Nub.* 1088, *Vesp.* 563). Since Aristophanes does not separate the refutations from the other arguments, these phrases serve to

¹ V. *infra*, p. 99.

² E.g., there are none in Haemon's plea, *Ant.* 683-723, although his character here is manifestly that of an Athenian pleader, and there is but one in Teucer's two speeches, *Ajax* 1093-1117, 1266-1315, viz. 1097: ἄγ', εἴπ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. But there are several in the *Electra* (presumably a later play); e.g., σκέψαι (442), εἰεν διδάξον . . . (534), λέξω δέ σοι (560), ἐγὼ φράσω (565). Aeschylus uses similar phrases in the great court scene of the *Eumenides*, e.g. τοῦτο λέξω (657) to introduce the proofs; τεκμήριον . . . δείξω (662). Aly has shown (29-44) that this scene is copied from actual contemporary practice; he calls attention (rightly, it seems to me) to the significance of these phrases and other indications of rhetorical art in a drama of the year 458; Attic oratory is certainly earlier in origin than 427.

³ Lees *Δικ. Λόγος* 8.

⁴ Cf. οἶμαι διδάξειν in the πρόθεσις of Pheidippides' speech, *Nub.* 1405.

introduce both positive arguments and refutations; but the phrase *ἐρεῖ τις* occurs once to introduce a supposed objection¹ and Pheidippides introduces his refutation of his father with the formula: *πρῶτ' ἐρήσομαι σε τουτί* (*Nub.* 1409). No special particle or formula is used to introduce the *ἐπίλογος*, but it is often clearly separated from the proofs by some general inferential expression, as *Vesp.* 719: *ὦν οὐνεκ' ἐγώ σ' ἀπέκληνον αἰεὶ . . .*, or *Thesm.* 428: *νῦν οὖν ἐμοὶ . . . δοκεῖ . . .*; or a *ταῦτα* is used to recapitulate the arguments, as *Thesm.* 517: *ταῦτ' οὐ ποιοῦμεν*; or *Ecc.* 239: *ταῦτ' ἐὰν πίθησθε*. Sometimes the speaker concludes with a question,² which challenges the opponent or the hearers, as *Vesp.* 619:

ἄρ' οὐ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἄρχω . . .;

or *Lys.* 1161:

τί δ' οὐ διηλλάγητε; φέρε, τί τοῦμποδῶν;

In *Thesm.* 517 (quoted above) the speaker answers his own question:

νῆ τήν Ἄρτεμιν, | ἡμεῖς γε.

and concludes with another:

κἄτ' Εὐριπίδῃ θυμούμεθα,
οὐδὲν παθοῦσαι μείζον ἢ δεδράκαμεν;

In his use of these formulae to separate the parts of his speeches Aristophanes betrays his interest in and knowledge of the tricks of the rhetors.³

None of the parts of these speeches is so developed and rhetorical in flavor as the *προοίμιον*. The function of the exordium of a speech is summed up in the classic phrase, "ut attentos, ut dociles, ut benevolos auditores habere possimus."⁴ The author of the

¹ *Ach.* 540; the line is parodied from Euripides.

² Cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* III 19. 1420a, who suggests ending with a question.

³ For parallels, cf. the speeches of his elder contemporary, Antiphon: *πρῶτον οἱ πρῶτον μὲν*, III δ 3, IV γ 2 (*bis*), V 8, VI 15; *σκέψαι οἱ σκοπεῖν*, I 21, V 25, 49, VI 16. To introduce *πίστεις*: *θέλω . . . ἐπιδείξαι*, IV γ 1; *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν . . . διδάξω*, V 8; *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀποδείξω*, VI 15. To introduce a refutation: *Εἰεν' ἐρεῖ δὲ . . .*, IV β 3. The transition to the *ἐπίλογος* is usually managed by some such formula as: *ὥς μὲν οὖν . . .*, *ἐπιδέδεικται μοι*.

⁴ *Auctor ad Herennium* I 4. 6; the same phrase in Cicero *De Inv.* I 15. 20 and Quintilian IV 1. 5.

Rhetoric to Alexander has the same purpose in mind when he writes: "Ἔστι δὲ προοίμιον . . . ἀκροατῶν παρασκευὴ . . . ἵνα γιγνώσκωσι περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος (ut dociles) . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προσέχειν παρακαλέσαι (ut attentos), καὶ καθ' ὅσον τῷ λόγῳ δυνατόν, εὖνους ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι (ut benevolos).¹ The author continues with various means of securing these aims. The speakers in Aristophanes regularly seek to make their hearers "dociles et attentos" in their proems, first by a clear statement of the case² and then by special methods. At the beginning of his speech in the *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis says that he intends to speak "about the city; for Comedy too knows justice."³ Both phrases, περὶ τῆς πόλεως and τὸ δίκαιον, call for the hearers' attention by a recognized common-place of the orators: first the speaker promises to treat matters that concern the state as a whole or his audience in particular; secondly, he claims that he will advise the just course.⁴ Similarly, Bdelycleon at the beginning of his speech against the jury system suggests that the case vitally concerns the state.⁵ In the outright parody in the mock-trial in the same play, the accuser says (*Vesp.* 907-9):

τῆς μὲν γραφῆς ἠκούσαθ' ἦν ἐγραψάμην
 ἄνδρες δικασταὶ τουτονί. δεινότατα γὰρ
 ἔργων δέδρακε κάμὲ καὶ τὸ ρυππαπαῖ.⁶

That is, the case is one which concerns the judges themselves as

¹ *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, p. 54 (Sp.). Aristotle, *Rhet.* III 14. 1415a-b, apparently includes both "dociles" and "attentos" under the topic ἐκ τοῦ προσεκτικὸν ποιῆσαι, "and in fact if a man is inclined to attend, he shows that he is already inclined to or desirous of learning. The two are closely connected, Cic. *De Inv.* I 16. 23" (Cope, *Rhetoric of Aristotle* (Cambridge, 1877), *ad loc.*). Cf. *Ad Her.* I 4. 7, "nam docilis est qui attente volt audire."

² Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, p. 54 (Sp.): the proem is τοῦ πράγματος ἐν κεφαλῇ μὴ εἰδῶσι δῆλωσις.

³ *Ach.* 498-500.

⁴ *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, p. 54 (Sp.): ἄρ' οὖν τούτοις (προσέχοντες) ὅταν ἡ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἢ φοβέρων ἢ τῶν ἡμῖν οἰκείων βουλευώμεθα, ἡ φάσκωσιν οἱ λέγοντες ὡς δίκαια καὶ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ῥάδια καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἡμῖν. . . . Cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* III 14. 1415b; *Ad Her.* I 4. 7.

⁵ *Vesp.* 650-1.

⁶ Cf. Antiphon fr. 68 (from the προοίμια καὶ ἐπιλογοί): 'Ἐγραψάμην ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν ἡδίκημένος ὑπὸ τούτου νῆ Δία πολλά, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλείω ὑμᾶς ἥσθημένος ἡδίκημένους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας. Aristophanes parodies the general thought, if not the very words of this passage; the work appeared before 423 (Blass I 115).

representatives of the radical democracy.¹ In the same fashion, the speaker in *Thesm.* 383-432 asserts that her sole concern is for the insults offered to the women in general,² while Praxagora in *Ecc.* 171-240 says that she is sorely grieved by the affairs of state, and her solemn prayer to the gods to prosper her plans indicates to her audience the gravity of the situation and the importance of her subject.³ In the *Birds* the Hoopoe first gains the attention of the angry chorus by stressing the topic of τὸ συμφέρον:

καὶ διδάξοντές τι δεῦρ' ἤκουσιν ὑμᾶς χρήσιμον.⁴

A few lines later he uses a παράδειγμα to prove that one may learn something useful even from enemies.⁵ Peisthetaerus also seeks to secure the attention of his audience at the beginning of his speech by a forceful, amazing statement, combined with the suggestion that his speech vitally concerns them:

. . . οὕτως ὑμῶν ὑπεραλγῶ,
οἵτινες ὄντες πρότερον βασιλῆς—⁶

¹ This whole speech is an appeal to self-interest, and no doubt is a biting satire on the methods of Cleon, and of the law-courts; cf. [Xenophon] *Resp. Ath.* I 13: ἐν τε τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς (i.e. τῷ δήμῳ) μᾶλλον μέλει ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφέρον. Presumably Aristophanes would distinguish a legitimate method of securing attention by expressing a concern for the state as a whole from the demagogic trick of appealing to the interests of a special class.

² Cf. Rogers, *Thesmophoriazusae of Aristophanes* (London, 1904), *ad loc.*: "Observe the speaker's rhetorical artifice. She begins as if she were seeking to redress merely the grievances of her audience." This would also make the women "benevolas."

³ According to Plutarch, *Per.* 8, Pericles began every important speech with a prayer to the gods. Aly 83 plausibly suggests that such prayers were common-places in the early proem.

⁴ *Av.* 372. Demosthenes, *Olyn.* I 1, implies that the topic was still a favorite one among the Athenian orators. He himself is fond of the adjective χρήσιμος, especially to denote a "good," i.e., useful, citizen.

⁵ *Av.* 375-380. Cf. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, Ovid *Metam.* IV 428.

⁶ *Av.* 466-7. The *Rh. ad Alex.* notes this use of the marvelous and striking in connection with the epideictic speech, 35, p. 68 (Sp.): ἐπὶ τὸ προσέχειν δὲ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων . . . καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θαυμαστὰ καὶ περιφανῆ φάσκειν. . . . But others apply the topic to all genera; Aristotle *Rhet.* III 14. 1415b; Dionysius *De Lys.* 24; *Ad Her.* I 4. 7; Cic. *De Inv.* I 16. 23. Cf. its use in Demosthenes *Phil.* III 1 and 5: καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὁ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ.

This stratagem is at once successful: the Birds are eager to hear more.

Finally, a speaker may make a direct request for attention, as Bdelycleon in *Vesp.* 655: ἀκρόασαί νυν, ὦ παππίδιον . . ., or Praxagora in *Ecc.* 587-8:

μή νυν πρότερον μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀνέληπ μὴδ' ὑποκρούσῃ,
πρὶν ἐπίστασθαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν καὶ τοῦ φράζοντος ἀκοῦσαι.¹

Here again Aristophanes appears to follow oratorical practice. The *Rhetoric to Alexander* says (29, p. 55) that the audience pays attention ὅταν δεηθῶσιν ἡμῶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτῶν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν. Elsewhere he notes among just αἰτήματα direct demands for attention.²

The speakers also do their utmost to secure the good-will of their hearers. One of the most frequent methods is the use of ἐλάττωσις — also called μείωσις or ταπείνωσις. This topic includes all attempts to secure sympathy by stressing the difficulty of the task, the inexperience of the speaker or the disabilities under which he labors, any advantages which his opponent may have over him, and the like. The Athenians prided themselves on their humane and sympathetic attitude;³ any appeal to this noble weakness assured a favorable hearing. Hence we find such appeals regularly in both proem and peroration of Attic speeches. The *Rhetoric to Alexander* recommends its use in the proem of speeches both συμβουλευτικοί and δικανικοί: ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις οἰστέον, λέγοντας ὡς 'οὐ δεινότητι πιστεύων ἀνέστην κτλ.' (in γένος συμβουλευτικόν), and συμπαραληπτέον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις, εἴ που τῶν ἀντιδίκων καταδεεστέρωσ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα.⁴

¹ Incidentally, Praxagora is unsuccessful in her attempt; she is interrupted six lines later, and the rest of the argument is in dialogue.

² *Rh. ad Alex.* 19, p. 45. Similarly, Demosthenes, who often affects to scold his audience, *On the Peace*, 3: ἂν ἐθελήσητε τοῦ θορυβεῖν καὶ φιλονικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκοῦειν. . . . Cf. also Lycurgus *In Leocr.* 16.

³ Cf. C. B. Gulick, "Notions of Humanity among the Greeks," *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects* (Cambridge, 1912).

⁴ 29, p. 55 and 36, p. 73. Cf. *Ad Her.* I 5. 8: benevolentiam contrahemus . . . si nostra incommoda proferemus etc.

In the *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis opens his speech by calling attention to his piteous state and begging for an impartial hearing (496-7):

μή μοι φθονήσῃτ' ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι,
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν κτλ.

He also mentions Cleon's slanders (502), perhaps with the idea of calling attention to Cleon's great advantage over him. In the *Wasps* Bdelycleon begins by stressing the difficulty of the task, which is far above the powers of a mere comic actor:

χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ δεινῆς γνώμης καὶ μείζονος ἢ 'πὶ τρυγῶδοις
λάσασθαι νόσον ἀρχαίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐντετοκυῖαν.¹

In the same play the *ξυνήγορος* for the dog Labes complains of the difficulty of defending a dog who has been slandered by so powerful an enemy.² Lysistrata begins her speech to the Proboulos by recalling the patience of the women and the hardships which they have endured throughout the war.³ When the First Woman in the *Thesmophoriazusae* opens her speech with the words (383-4):

φιλοτιμία μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ μὰ τῷ θεῷ
λέξουσ' ἀνέστην ὦ γυναῖκες,

she absolves herself in advance of the charge of being a *πολυπράγμων*, and she also uses a slight *ἐλάττωσις* to gain good-will,⁴ just as does the speaker in the example quoted above in the *Rhetoric to Alexander* (29, p. 55: οὐ δεινότητι πιστεύων ἀνέστην), who disclaims all skill in speaking. In similar fashion, the Second Woman in the *Ecclesiazusae* modestly wishes that some more experienced speaker had

¹ *Vesp.* 650-1. The actor finds himself in the same situation as the speaker in Antiphon's *On the Murder of Herodes*, who complains that his powers of speech are quite unequal to the danger which confronts him.

² *Vesp.* 950-1.

³ *Lys.* 507-512. Note especially the phrases: ἡνεσχόμεθα ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας, and εἴτ' ἀλγοῦσαι τᾶνδοθεν κτλ.

⁴ Cf. *τάλαινα*, 385, to arouse pity, like Dicaeopolis' *πτωχὸς ὢν*, *Ach.* 497.

arisen.¹ This too is a κοινὸς τόπος among the orators, and is especially suitable for young and untried speakers.²

The use of flattery is an obvious means of making one's hearers "benevolos." It is recommended in the *Rhetoric to Alexander*: ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπαίνῳ θεραπευτέον, δικαίως καὶ νουνεχῶς τοὺς λόγους ὡς εἰώθασι δοκιμάζειν, and χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐπαίνῳ θεραπεύσαι ὡς δικασταὶ δίκαιοι καὶ δεινοὶ εἰσιν.³ Consequently, when Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* emphasizes the justice of his cause,⁴ and later remarks that only friends are present,⁵ he suggests that the judges (i.e., the audience) will be just in their decision and friendly to a righteous cause.⁶ The frequent emphasis on this rhetorical common-place of τὸ δίκαιον indicates that Aristophanes is imitating the tricks of the rhetoricians.⁷

These two methods of securing εὐνοία — ἐλάττωσις and flattery — are general and may be used by any speaker. Occasionally a speaker finds himself at a disadvantage, owing to prejudice or ill-feeling (διαβολή) already existing against himself or his case. He

¹ *Ecc.* 151-2: ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν ἕτερον . . . λέγειν κτλ.

² Cf. Demosthenes, *Phil.* I 1: ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. . . . The topic is apparently early; cf. Thrasymachus fr. B1 (Diels): ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ, ἥνκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τοῖς νεωτέροις κτλ.

³ 29, p. 55; 36, p. 73. This type of flattery is, of course, less exaggerated and gross than the demagogues' expressions of devotion to the mob, discussed *supra*, p. 76-7.

⁴ *Ach.* 499-500. Starkie *ad loc.* says that Aristophanes is "harping on justice," and sees a reference to his trial the year before. Although Aristophanes is undoubtedly thinking of his trial, he does not "harp on justice" any more than any good orator might in his proem. The parody is double, both on the *Telephus* of Euripides and on the common-places of the orators.

⁵ *Ach.* 513.

⁶ Cf. Antiphon I 4, where the speaker calls the judges μοι ἀναγκαῖοι, and ends his proem with the statement: ἡ ποῖ τὴν καταφυγὴν ποιήσεται ἄλλοθι ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον; The speaker in Lysias III says to the Boulê that before a regular court he should have been afraid, εἰς ὑμᾶς δ' εἰσελθὼν ἐλπίζω τῶν δικαίων τεύξεσθαι.

⁷ Cf. *Nub.* 962, 1405; *Lys.* 1129. A more blatant form of flattery appears in *Vesp.* 652, where Bdelycleon addresses his father as, ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονιόη. This was just the sort of thing Philocleon is used to in the courts; he recognizes it for what it is and will have none of it.

then expands his proem to clear away the *διαβολαί* before going on to his case.¹ Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* is forced to meet prejudice first against himself as a man condemned of *ἀδικία* the year before (of course, Dicaeopolis here represents the poet himself), and then against his case, as being pro-Spartan. He carefully avoids any suggestion that the present judges are in any way to blame for the previous verdict by ascribing it to the evil machinations of Cleon.² He offers two lines of argument (502-8): first, Cleon attacked me last year out of spite; second, he will have no case against me this year, since I shall speak justly and no foreigners are present. With these arguments compare the general advice of the *Rhetoric to Alexander* on disposing of prejudice (29): *καὶ ῥητέον ὡς ἀδικῶς ἢ κρίσις ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατεστασιάσθημεν . . . ἀεὶ δὲ κατηγορεῖν χρὴ διαβολῆς* (this is Dicaeopolis' first argument). *δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ καλὰ ἐπιδείξειν, ἃ ὑπέσχου συμβουλεύειν* (this corresponds to Dicaeopolis' emphasis on the justice of his plea and the present situation). He then turns to the *διαβολαί περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα* which arise, among other occasions, *ὅταν τις . . . συμβουλεύῃ . . . εἰρήνην ποιείσθαι αἰσχροάν, or the like.*³ In such cases the speaker is advised to use *προκατάληψις*, which is defined as anticipating and answering the criticisms of the audience and the expected arguments of the opposition.⁴ In the speech in the *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis tries to silence the criticisms of the audience by assuring them that he really hates the Spartans, for he too has lost his little vineyard.⁵ An exact parallel to this situation occurs in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where the Kinsman, about to defend Euripides among the women, remarks, "I myself hate the man."⁶ In the *Wasps* the defendant in the mock-

¹ The handbooks of rhetoric treat this matter in great detail; cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, 36; Aristotle *Rhet.* III 15. Of the early rhetoricians, Thrasyarchus gave special attention to the problem of *διαβολή*: cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 267c (= Thrasyarchus fr. B6, Diels): *διαβάλλειν τε καὶ ἀπολύσασθαι διαβολὰς ὅθεν δὴ κράτιστος.*

² *Ach.* 377-382, 502.

³ *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, p. 58.

⁴ *Rh. ad Alex.* 18, p. 41.

⁵ *Ach.* 509-512.

⁶ *Thesm.* 470-1. Both speeches parody the *Telephus*.

trial pleads that existing prejudice makes his case much harder, but he makes no effort to remove the cause of this prejudice; he is merely appealing for the sympathy of the judges.¹ *Lysistrata* in her speech for reconciliation has to deal with the prejudice that would naturally arise against a Greek woman speaking in public. She does so with great dignity and simple directness, by the mere statement, "Although I am a woman, I have intelligence, and have been schooled by listening to my father's words."²

An amusing light is thrown on methods of securing *εὐνοια* by the passage in the *Birds* immediately preceding the *Agôn*. After the Hoopoe has secured the attention of the chorus by stressing the topic of *τὸ συμφέρον*, he attempts to make them favorably disposed to the Athenian Peisthetaerus by praising his intelligence (*ἄφατον ὡς φρόνιμος*, 428). He goes on, in answer to the chorus' question, "Has he really got brains?" with a spirited and almost ecstatic recommendation:

πυκνότατον κίναδος,
σόφισμα κύρμα τρῖμμα παιπάλημ' ὄλον.

This is high praise indeed (among Athenians), and the chorus is completely won over; *λέγειν λέγειν κέλευέ μοι!* they cry. The undercurrent of satire on Athens comes close to the surface here; the greater the rogue and swindler, the more certain he was of a favorable hearing!

One other type of proem might be added for contrast. When Pheidippides in the *Clouds* defends his actions in beating his father, he uses none of the arts of flattery to conciliate his hearers. Instead, he offers a spirited little introduction in praise of the power of speech.³ Such praises probably formed one of the commonplaces of the sophistic *ἐπιδείξεις*, and in beginning his defense with

¹ *Vesp.* 950.

² *Lys.* 1124-7. Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 29, pp. 57-8: *ῥητέον δὲ καὶ ὡς εἰ μήπω καθ' ἡλικίαν τὸ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν*. That is, any objections to the speaker on the grounds of age, sex, etc. can be removed by showing the speaker's fitness for giving advice on the subject. Notice that *Lysistrata* does not hesitate to praise herself; this too is recommended as part of the proem (to secure *εὐνοια*), *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 73: . . . *αὐτοὺς μὲν συντόμως ἐπαινετέον*.

³ *Nub.* 1399-1405.

this proem Pheidippides is merely exhibiting the success of his sophistic training.¹ Similarly, the Unjust Reason opens his speech with praise of himself and his powers.²

The argumentation in these speeches is usually simple and direct. There is little or no trace of the subtle and elaborate use of *εἰκότα* which forms so large a part of Antiphon's *Tetralogies*. The word *εἰκός* itself appears a few times in the speeches, usually in the sense of "fitting, reasonable" rather than "probable."³ In the *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis bases part of his argument on what it is probable that the Athenians would have done, if they had had even less provocation than that which aroused the Spartans in 432 B.C.⁴ *Παραδείγματα*, examples of similar or contrary occurrences, are perhaps the most frequent type of *πίστεις ἔντεχνοι*; this is to be expected, since such arguments are most suitable for deliberative speeches,⁵ and the largest number of Aristophanes' speeches are protreptic or apotreptic in purpose. The Unjust Reason in the *Clouds* uses Heracles as a *παράδειγμα* to prove that a man may take hot baths and still be brave and manly.⁶ Peisthetaerus in the *Birds* uses another to prove that men will honor the birds as gods even though they fly about on wings, since Hermes, Nikê, Iris, and Eros possess wings.⁷ The wonderful metaphor from wool-working which Lysistrata uses is actually an extended *παράδειγμα* intended to prove that the women can solve the political muddle

¹ Cf. the praises of *λόγος*, Gorgias *Helen* 8-14. Pheidippides' whole speech shows sophistic traits: e.g., the contrast of man-made law, which Pheidippides proposes to change, with the natural state; this is the *νόμος-φύσις* commonplace.

² *Nub.* 1036-42.

³ *Nub.* 1374, 1418, 1439. (Pheidippides argues that it is more fitting for old men to be beaten than for children.) However, Aristophanes knew the technical use of *εἰκός*; for Socrates uses it in an argument from probability to prove his explanation of the origin of thunder, *Nub.* 393.

⁴ *Ach.* 541-554.

⁵ *Rh. ad Alex.* 32, p. 62: . . . οἰκείωταται ταῖς δημηγορίαις εἰσὶ πίστεις τὰ τε τῶν πραγμάτων ἔθη καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα. . . .

⁶ *Nub.* 1047-52. The Unjust Reason is fond of these mythological examples; Nestor and Peleus are cited later. This may be a parody of the sophistic use of myths in their *ἐπιδείξεις*.

⁷ *Av.* 572-5.

just as they often disentangle a skein of wool or prepare wool for weaving.¹ Later in the play, in her speech for reconciliation she bases her argument on examples of Athenian services to Sparta and Spartan aid to Athens.² In the *Thesmophoriazusae* the speakers for and against Euripides confine their argument to παραδείγματα.³ Σημεῖα or τεκμήρια, things that are accustomed to happen before, with, or after another event, and therefore can be used as evidence that such-and-such an event took place,⁴ are fairly rare. An interruption by Philocleon during the trial of the dog Labes is the best example: he declares in advance that the dog is guilty, since "he just breathed a vile whiff of cheese in my face."⁵ The word τεκμήρια⁶ occurs once in the argument of a speech: Peisthetærus declares that there is ample evidence (πολλὰ τεκμήρια) that the birds once ruled over men;⁷ the arguments that follow are all σημεῖα; since the cock is called the "Persian bird" he must have ruled over the Persians, men still fall prostrate before the kite (a "sign" of royalty), and so on.⁸ Only one instance of a non-technical proof (πίστις ἄτεχνος) occurs, the μαρτυρία of the cheese-grater in the trial of the *Wasps*.⁹

¹ *Lys.* 567-586. Similarly, Praxagora in *Ecc.* 215-228 uses a series of examples drawn from household chores to show that women can manage the state.

² *Lys.* 1137-1156.

³ *Thesm.* 395-428, 477-516.

⁴ *Rh. ad Alex.* 12, p. 35, on Σημεῖον. This work gives an unusual sense to τεκμήριον, almost equal to "contradictions." However, in Aristotle *Rhet.* I 2, τεκμήριον is merely a necessary σημεῖον.

⁵ *Vesp.* 912-4. In the same fashion, without seeing the act committed, we might declare a child guilty of stealing preserves if his face were smeared with jam.

⁶ This is the regular word in Aristophanes for this type of evidence; σημεῖον always means "seal, signal, device (on a ring, etc.);" except in *Nub.* 369, where it is equivalent to τεκμήριον.

⁷ *Av.* 482.

⁸ This is also an enthymeme, or rhetorical syllogism, derived from a σημεῖον; cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* I 2. A similar enthymeme derived from a τεκμήριον appears in *Eq.* 33 where the slave "Nicias" argues, "I am θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός (a τεκμήριον); ergo, the gods do exist." Is this not a parody of the many fallacious arguments used by the orators?

⁹ *Vesp.* 963, introduced by ἀνάβηθι, the regular word in the orators.

Apart from these formal methods of proof, the *πίστεις* contain many examples of *κοινοὶ τόποι*, especially the topics of *τὸ δίκαιον* and *τὸ συμφέρον*. In the discussion of the protreptic and apotreptic speech the *Rhetoric to Alexander* lays down the general rule that the speaker must show that a certain course of action is just, lawful, expedient, noble, pleasant, and easy¹ (or if not easy, at least possible and necessary). The apotreptic speaker tries to demonstrate the reverse.² Each of these topics is then discussed in full. In the fifth century the topics of justice and expediency were paramount, as the speeches of Thucydides show.³ The speakers in Aristophanes often combine with their formal proofs general statements about the justice, nobility, or expediency of their proposals; frequently this appeal to the common-places forms the bulk of the *πίστεις*. The Just Reason in the *Clouds* bases his plea primarily on *τὸ καλόν*, the nobility of the old education and the personal beauty of its pupils.⁴ The advantage of this training for Pheidippides lies in the nobility and beauty which will be his, if he chooses the old system. The Unjust Reason bases part of his refutation on expediency alone: Peleus, for example, got no good from his vaunted self-restraint, while the sophistic, trained speaker may cast moderation to the winds, do as he likes, and talk his way out of his scrapes.⁵ In the *Wasps* Philocleon bases his case for the jury-system entirely on the advantages accruing to the dicasts: the

¹ Professor E. K. Rand has called my attention to a neat parody of this idea in Terence *Phormio* 224-6:

meministin olim ut fuerit vostra oratio
in re incipiunda ad defendendam noxiam,
iustam illam causam, facilem, vincibilem, optumam?

Phaedria is something of an orator (cf. his little speech in defense of Antipho, 270-7); doubtless he had learned the common-places of rhetoric in school.

² I, pp. 5-6. Cf. 32: the *βεβαίωσις* consists *ἐκ τῶν πίστεων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων*.

³ E.g., the speech of the Plataeans before the Spartans, III 53-59, which rings all the changes on justice and expediency, or the debate in Athens on the fate of Mytilene, III 37-48.

⁴ *Nub.* 963-983, 990-1023.

⁵ *Nub.* 1060-1082. This assumption that it is advantageous for a man to be able to fulfill all his desires, without fear of punishment, is, of course, exactly the sophistic view against which Plato protests in the *Gorgias*.

flattery and begging they receive, their absolutely unchecked power (ταῦτ' ἀνυπεύθινοι δρῶμεν), the regard shown them by Council, Assembly, and the professional politicians, and the pay which makes them independent and respected at home.¹ Bdelycleon meets him on the same ground: since his speech is apotreptic, he tries to show that it is *not* advantageous for the old men to sit in court and submit to insults from the young ῥήτορες merely to earn a fee which the state could afford to pay them without service. In short, it is not the dicasts who reap the advantages of the jury-system but the hated professional politicians.² Peisthetaerus in the *Birds*, after his amusing "proof" that the birds were once rulers of the universe, brings in his formal motion, to build a city and re-establish their sovereignty. Then, with an eye to persuading the audience as well as the chorus, he stresses the advantages of this new arrangement for mankind.³

In contrast to these speeches, with their emphasis on τὸ συμφέρον, the noble speech of Lysistrata to the Athenians and the Spartan envoys stresses τὸ δίκαιον. With keen insight she notes the three great factors which acted to hold the Greeks together: common race and language (ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς), common religion (μιάς ἐκ χέρνιβος βωμοὺς περιρραίνοντες), and a common foe (ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρων).⁴ She then turns to each side and, with pardonable rhetorical exaggeration, gives examples of services received from the other.⁵ Her argument is based only on the just claims of each side for consideration from the other; under the peculiar circumstances of the play, it was hardly necessary to stress expediency.

These passages illustrate the use of κοινοὶ τόποι in deliberative speeches. They are also found in dicanic speeches. If the defendant

¹ *Vesp.* 552-619. Since Philocleon depends on τὸ συμφέρον in its basest form — the advantage of a special group within the state — without the slightest regard for τὸ δίκαιον, his "defense" of the system actually amounts to a most damning indictment.

² *Vesp.* 656-718.

³ *Av.* 586-626.

⁴ *Lys.* 1129-34.

⁵ This method is recommended in *Rh. ad Alex.* 2, p. 16: δεῖ δὲ ὅταν συναγορεύειν βούλη τῇ γινομένην συμμαχίᾳ . . . δεικνύναι τοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιουμένους μάλιστα μὲν δικαίους ὄντας καὶ πρότερόν τι τῇ πόλει ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκότας, which is true for both Sparta and Athens.

denies the fact, says the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, your *confirmatio* should consist ἐκ τῶν πίστεων; if he admits it, ἐκ τῶν δικάων καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν τούτοις ἀκολουθῶν.¹ The defendant, if he admits the facts, must either show ἐκ τῶν δικάων καὶ νομίμων μετίοντες ἐννομώτερα καὶ δικαιότερα τὰ ἡμέτερα, or else, εἰς ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἀτύχημα καταφεύγοντας . . . συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν πειρατέον. . . .² In the trial scene of the *Clouds* ("Strepsiades vs. Pheidippides on a charge of beating his father"), Pheidippides admits the fact and seeks to show that it is just for a man to beat his father (στάσις ἀντίστασις):

οἶμαι διδάξειν ὥς δίκαιον τὸν πατέρα κολάζειν.³

The arguments that follow are sophistic common-places on τὸ δίκαιον and φύσις vs. νόμος. The mock-trial in the *Wasps* ("Kuôn vs. Labes on a charge of stealing cheese") exhibits the third type of defense, συγγνώμη. Since the defendant is manifestly guilty, his ξυνήγορος, following a well-known Athenian custom,⁴ says nothing about the charge; instead he stresses Labes' "services to the state" (as a sheep-dog and watch-dog), and begs for pardon on the ground that he is uneducated and knew no better (959):

ξύγγνωθι· καθαρίζειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

He also introduces, as evidence of Labes' public spirit, the μαρτυρία of the cheese-grater, who divided the spoils for τοῖς στρατιώταις (965), and finally makes a direct and moving appeal for pity. In all this Aristophanes accurately parodies the usage of the law-courts.

Aristotle assigns four parts to the ἐπίλογος: making the hearers well-disposed toward the speaker and ill-disposed toward his opponent, αὔξησις and ταπείνωσις, arousing the emotions of the audi-

¹ 36, p. 76.

² 36, pp. 79-80. Cf. 4, p. 23: τὸ δὲ ἀπολογητικὸν (γένος) διὰ τριῶν μεθόδων συνίσταται. This is the later rhetorical theory of στάσεις. Navarre 265-271 traces the history of these divisions of cases back to the fifth century. The germ of the theory may go back to Tisias and Corax; the *Tetralogies* of Antiphon suggest an early effort to classify cases; cf. Aly 164-5.

³ *Nub.* 1405.

⁴ Cf. *Lysias* XII 38: . . . ὅπερ ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει εἰθισμένον ἐστὶ, πρὸς μὲν τὰ κατηγορουμένα μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίστε ἐξαπατῶσιν ὑμᾶς, ἀποδεικνύντες ὥς στρατιῶται ἀγαθοὶ εἰσιν. . . .

ence, and a summary.¹ The *Rhetoric to Alexander* mentions only two of these: the summary and making the hearers well-disposed toward ourselves and ill-disposed toward our opponent; under the latter heading is included the appeal to the various emotions we wish to arouse, pity for ourselves, and hatred for our adversary.² In actual practice, the Attic orators often conclude a deliberative speech with a mere summary, or a statement that the course of action they advise is the best for the city.³ In Aristophanes the *ἐπίλογος* usually consists of a brief statement that the case is proved, or that the speaker's advice is useful. Often the word *ταῦτα* serves to recall the arguments.⁴ But on occasion Aristophanes' speakers can expand their perorations to include some of the topics mentioned in the handbooks. When the Just Reason in the *Clouds* paints in glowing words the physical beauty of those who cultivate the old system of education and the ugliness of those who follow the new,⁵ he is using a simple method of making Pheidippides well-disposed toward himself and ill-disposed toward the Unjust Reason. Strepsiades later in the play blackens the character of the defendant (Pheidippides) by recalling the kindness and love he had shown him in his infancy.⁶ The accuser in the mock-trial of the *Wasps* tries to arouse the anger of the court against the defendant,⁷ and also warns the jury that if Labes is acquitted he ("Cleon") will cease to arraign other miscreants.⁸ In answer to this the defendant appeals directly to the pity of the jury, con-

¹ *Rhet.* III 19.

² *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, pp. 82-3.

³ Cf. the deliberative speeches of Demosthenes, especially *Olyn.* I 28, *Olyn.* III 39, *On the Cher.* 109, *Phil.* III 76.

⁴ So in *Ach.* 555, *Nub.* 1009, *Vesp.* 927, *Thesm.* 517, *Ecc.* 239.

⁵ *Nub.* 1009-1023.

⁶ *Nub.* 1380-1390. Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 82: εὖ δὲ διαθήσομεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους κακῶς . . . ἀποφαίνοντες κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐφ' οἷς εὖ πεποιήκαμεν τοὺς ἀδικούντας. . . .

⁷ *Vesp.* 922-3:

μή νυν ἀφῆτέ γ' αὐτόν, ὥς ὄντ' αὖ πολὺ
κυνῶν ἀπάντων ἄνδρα μονοφαγίστατον.

This is mere name-calling; cf. the speaker against Euripides, *Thesm.* 383-432.

⁸ Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 4, p. 23: λέγε δὲ καὶ ὥς, εἰ τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπολογούμενον ἀποδέξονται, πολλοὺς τοὺς ἀδικεῖν προαιρουμένους ἔξουσιν.

trasts his hard lot with the easy life of the accuser,¹ and concludes with the touching scene of his weeping "children."² This, of course, is direct parody of the courts, and was meant to be amusing, as it is; but Aristophanes could use the same device for a serious purpose when he chose. At the end of her debate with the Proboulos, Lysistrata speaks noble and touching words on the sad lot of girls who miss their chance at marriage (596-7):

τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς σμικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κἄν τούτου μὴ' πιλάβηται,
οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅττενομένη δὲ κάθηται.

This appeal for pity forms a brief ἐπίλογος for the speech; what follows is pure comic flavoring.

Although Aristophanes takes less pains with his perorations than with the other parts of his speeches, they often show his familiarity with the rules of rhetoric.

IV

It is not necessary to discuss separately each of the fifteen speeches listed above (p. 81); the foregoing general survey has sufficiently indicated the divisions of the speech and the rhetorical devices found in each part. For purposes of illustration one complete speech will now be treated in detail; the others will be briefly outlined.

The earliest and in many respects the best of the speeches is the defense of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*. Aristophanes leads up to this *chef-d'oeuvre*, the core of the whole play, by two well-planned scenes. When the irascible gentlemen from Acharnae discover that Dicaeopolis is the man who has made peace with Sparta, they attack him with stones; they refuse to listen to reason, and declare that they will hear no long speeches.³ To gain their attention

¹ Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 83: φθονήσονται (sc. οἱ ἐναντίοι) . . . ἐὰν ἀναξίως αὐτοὺς εὖ πράττοντας ἀποφαίνωμεν. . . .

² *Vesp.* 967-978. The appeals for pity are laid on with a heavy hand: ἐλέει ταλαιπωρουμένους . . . ἴθ' ἀντιβολῶ σ'· οἰκτίρατ' αὐτὸν ὦ πάτερ, καὶ μὴ διαφθείρητε.

³ *Ach.* 302: σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λόγους λέγοντος οὐκ ἀκούσομαι μακροῦς.

Dicaeopolis states two amazing propositions: first, that the Lacedaemonians are not the cause of *all* the trouble, and second, in some matters they themselves were wronged.¹ This device is only momentarily successful; after a moment's pause the chorus returns to the attack. Nevertheless their curiosity has been aroused, and after the amusing parody from the *Telephus* which follows, they admit that they have a strong desire to learn what Dicaeopolis means.² Apparently, a lively curiosity (a strong motive among Greeks) no less than the stratagem of the coal-scuttle prompts the chorus to listen. In a little speech Dicaeopolis, speaking for the poet, explains that he is greatly worried over the outcome; the Athenian audience loves flattery and rhetoric, and juries are always prone to vote against the defendant. Therefore, he needs assistance; who could help him better than "the poet of dicanic speeches," whose tragic heroes, clad in beggars' rags and tatters, were most successful in arousing the pity of their hearers? He goes to Euripides and borrows the costume and "properties" of Telephus; as he puts on the *accoutrements* of this beggar-hero, his speech becomes more and more rhetorical in flavor. By the end of the scene he has "completely swallowed Euripides"³ and is ready for his dangerous undertaking, the defense of the Lacedaemonians.

These witty scenes vividly dramatize the forebodings and hesitation Aristophanes must have felt in presenting this daring play; and they indicate the careful preparation which he had put into the speech that follows.

The speech itself, as the situation outlined above shows, has a double function. Since Dicaeopolis actually defends himself before the chorus, with the penalty of immediate death awaiting him if he fails to convince them, it should be classed as a dicanic, apologetic speech. But from the point of view of the audience it is also a deliberative speech, since its purpose is to persuade the Athenians to make peace with Sparta. It shows therefore char-

¹ *Ach.* 309-310, 313-4. These are examples of τὰ θαυμαστά by which the orator makes his audience attentive.

² *Ach.* 361: πᾶν γὰρ ἔμεγε πόθος ὃ τι φρονεῖς ἔχει.

³ *Ach.* 484: οὐκ εἰ καταπιὼν Εὐριπίδην;

acteristics of both branches of oratory, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν and τὸ δικανικόν.¹

Acharnenses 496-556

1. Προοίμιον, 496-512.

The proem is unusually elaborate. As is natural for a speaker clad in the rags of Telephus, Dicaeopolis uses many quotations and adaptations from Euripides. He starts with a plea for pity and good-will, using the artifice of ἐλάττωσις: "Do not be angry at me if, although a beggar, I speak among you."² He continues with words intended to secure the attention of the audience: "The case concerns the city, and although what I say is *startling*" (τὰ θαυμαστά again) "it is none the less *just*." These opening remarks are general and might fit any speech; the speaker now turns to the special circumstances of the case, the διαβολαί against the speaker and his subject. Aristophanes has to contend with prejudice on two counts: first, because he himself labored under the effects of an adverse verdict the year before. He clears away the prejudice against himself by attacking Cleon, by suggesting that it was Cleon's slanders which caused the verdict,³ and he adds that Cleon will have no case this year since no foreigners are present. In answer to a supposed objection of his hearers (προκατάληψις) he says that the metics are not foreigners but "the bran of the citizens." In the second place, the case which Dicaeopolis presents, peace with Sparta, is unpopular with a large part of his audience; this διαβολή περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα he attempts to remove by asserting his own hatred of Sparta: "For I too have suffered from their raids and have lost my little vineyard."⁴

¹ Aristotle, *Rhet.* III 17. 1418a 30, admits the possibility of both functions in one speech: . . . ὅπερ οἱ Ἀθήνησι ῥήτορες ποιοῦσι καὶ Ἰσοκράτης · καὶ γὰρ συμβουλευὼν κατηγορεῖ, οἷον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ, Χάρητος δ' ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ. Cf. Cope *ad loc.*

² Starkie, *Ach. ad loc.*, has a strange idea that πτωχός has some reference to the trial of Aristophanes the year before: "The changes are rung upon this word so often that it would appear that there is a reference to some incident in the recent attacks of Cleon. . . . Apparently he (Aristophanes) was reproached with πτωχεία as well as *lèse-majesté*." This far-fetched explanation seems unnecessary, to say the least; Aristophanes here parodies the orators as well as Euripides.

³ Cf. 502 with 380: διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῇ κατεγλώττιζέ μου.

⁴ Note the effect of ἀμπέλια, 512, a "pathetic diminutive" (Starkie); again ἐλάττωσις.

2. Πρόθεσις, 513-4.

ἀτὰρ φίλοι γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ,
τί ταῦτα τοῦς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα;

The prothesis is placed at the end of the proem, as the *Rhetoric to Alexander* recommends,¹ and continues the attempt to win favor, by calling the audience φίλοι: "Since we are all friends here, why can't we be frank about the matter?"

3. Πίστις, 515-554.

- a. 515-522. The Athenian sycophants were unjust to Megara in the matter of confiscations.
- b. 523-529. The rape of the harlots, begun by the Athenians, led directly to the war.
- c. 530-534. Pericles introduced the Megarian decree for personal reasons.
- d. 535-539. We refused to reconsider the decree.
- e. 540-554. (*Refutatio*) "What should you have done under similar circumstances?"

The proofs consist mainly of a narration of certain facts, real or imaginary; the significance lies in the way in which Dicaeopolis construes these facts. (a) In the first place, the Athenians took the first steps in outlawing Megarian wares. Certain vulgar fellows took advantage of this to lay information and confiscate all doubtful merchandise. Aristophanes is careful to make it clear that it is not the state he accuses² (thus keeping the good-will of his audience) but a few despicable characters (ἀνδράρια μοχθηρὰ κτλ.). These men are identified with Aristophanes' own accusers ("Cleon and Company") and are then treated like the orator's opponents. The *Rhetoric to Alexander* advises the defendant to slander the accuser; the most frequent charge is that of sycophancy,³ which Aristophanes explicitly makes in line 519.⁴ Perhaps there is a further implication that these men, since they were the original

¹ 29, p. 59.

² The earnestness of lines 515-6, κοῦχι τὴν πόλιν λέγω, | μέμνησθε τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐχι τὴν πόλιν λέγω, suggests the insecurity which Aristophanes must have felt in writing this speech. A more light-hearted parody of this rhetorical commonplace occurs in *Thesm.* 476, where the Kinsman defending Euripides avoids the odium of maligning the women in general by beginning with "her" own misdemeanors, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλην λέγω.

³ 36, p. 83. Cf. 29, p. 57: in deliberative speeches the orator should attack his opponent with some such remark as, πολυπράγμων γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ οὗτος.

⁴ So the chorus understands this argument; the unconvinced semi-chorus angrily says (559):

καὶ συκοφάντης εἴ τις ᾗν ὠνείδισας;

cause of the friction between Athens and Megara, are responsible for all the hardships of the war.¹

The next two sections of the argument (b and c) are based on ἐλάττωσις, minimizing the case of the opposition.² "Some young Athenians in their cups stole a Megarian wench" (again, not the state but a few individuals are to blame); "the Megarians retaliated by stealing two of Aspasia's girls. This brought down Pericles on their heads with his Megarian decree." By showing the meanness of the causes of the war Aristophanes removes the arguments in favor of continuing it.³ To contribute to this effect he speaks contemptuously of the three λαϊκάστριαι as the cause of the war, and mocks at the decree of Pericles "composed like drinking-songs," which he neatly parodies in two lines (533-4); a few lines later he refers to it as τὸ ψήφισμα . . . τὸ διὰ τὰς λαϊκαστρίας.

In the following argument (d) he tries to arouse sympathy for the Megarians, who were "starving by inches" and begged the Spartans to help them. "But even though the Lacedaemonians begged us mightily, we would not give in."⁴

The last argument is a refutation (προκατάληψις); in answer to the supposed objection that the Spartans ought not to have gone to war about so small a matter and for the sake of the Megarians, Aristophanes offers a hypothetical case as a parallel: "Suppose a Spartan had confiscated even so mean an article as a small dog in one of your allies' territory; what should you have done?" The argument is based on εἰκός, probability, what the Athenians would have done. The last nine verses are purely comic; the piling up of words suggests the hubbub of war.

4. Ἐπίλογος, 555-6:

ταῦτ' οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν ἐδρᾶτε· τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον
οὐκ οἶόμεσθα; νοῦς ἄρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι.

¹ Another method of slandering the opposition, *Rh. ad Alex.* 36, p. 83: διαβαλοῦμεν δὲ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους . . . ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν τούτοις φίλων τοὺς ἀκούοντας . . . κακῶς πεπονθότας. . . .

² *Rh. ad Alex.* 2, p. 17: τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ταπεινοῦντες. A few lines later some advice is given to those who argue against a certain war: πρῶτον μὲν διὰ προφάσεων δεικτέον ἢ παντελῶς οὐδεμίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ἢ μικρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς οὔσας τὰς δυσχερείας. Cf. the remark of Gorgias (quoted in Aristotle *Rhet.* III 18. 1419b 4-7) that one should answer the opponent's serious arguments with mockery.

³ This method was probably suggested by the *Tclephus*; Starkie *ad loc.*

⁴ 538. δεομένων πολλάκις is rhetorical exaggeration, as a comparison with Thuc. I 139 shows. Presumably it flattered the audience to be told that the Spartans had begged them.

The speech ends as it began, with a parody of the *Telephus*. It includes a brief summary: "All these things you would have done," and a brief argument from example: "If you do this, why should not Telephus?" The thought is hidden under the parody, but as the Athenian audience had seen the *Telephus* recently, they probably got the point. It appears that Telephus, speaking incognito among the Achaeans, defended himself on the ground that he had been attacked by the Greeks first; he concluded his speech with the words which Aristophanes adopts here.¹ Dicaeopolis, speaking for the Spartans among the Athenians, argues that the Spartans had really fought in self-defense.

Nubes 961-1023 and 1036-1104

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

A. The speech of the Just Reason, 961-1023.

1. Προοίμιον, 961-2. (A simple πρόθεσις.)
2. Πίστεις, 963-1008.
 - a. 963-983. Description of the old education.
 - b. 985-1008. The advantages of this system.
3. Ἐπίλογος, 1009-1023. The beauty of those who follow the old system and the ugliness of those who follow the new.

B. The speech of the Unjust Reason, 1036-1104.

1. Προοίμιον, 1036-1042. Praise of the sophistic power of reasoning.
2. Πίστεις, 1043-1082.²
 - a. 1043-1052. The example of Heracles proves that warm baths are not unmanly.
 - b. 1055-7. Homer shows that it is not necessary to shun the ἀγορά (an equivocation on ἀγορητής and ἀγοραῖος).
 - c. 1058-1074. The example of Peleus shows that τὸ σωφρονεῖν is not advantageous.
 - d. 1075-1082. The advantages of the sophistic training.
- (3. In place of the ἐπίλογος, a burlesque demonstration that all successful Athenians are εὐρύπρωκτοι, 1085-1104.)

¹ Starkie *Ach. Ex.* VI.

² Since the Unjust Reason has promised to overthrow his opponent from his own words (941-4), his proofs consist mainly of refutations. Arguments (a) and (b) answer 991 in the Just Reason's speech; (c) answers μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου, 1006).

Nubes 1353-1390 and 1399-1451

Γένος Δικανικόν

A. The speech of Strepsiades, 1353-1390.

1. Προοίμιον, 1353-4. (A simple πρόθεσις.)
2. Διήγησις, 1354-1376. The origin of the quarrel.
3. Πίστεις, 1380-5.
4. Ἐπίλογος, 1385-1390. "Contrast my loving care of you as an infant with the beating I have just received."

B. The speech of Pheidippides, 1399-1451.

1. Προοίμιον, 1399-1405. (Πρόθεσις in 1405.)
2. Πίστεις, 1409-1432.
 - a. 1409-1419. If it is just for fathers to beat their sons, it is still more just for sons to beat their fathers.
 - b. 1421-9. The law against beating one's father is not a "natural" law and will be changed.

The speech breaks off a few lines later: Strepsiades is forced to admit the justice of his son's arguments (1437-9), but when Pheidippides threatens to beat his mother too, he will hear no more.

Vespae 548-630 and 650-724

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

A. The speech of Philocleon, 548-630.

1. Προοίμιον, 548-9. (A simple πρόθεσις.)
2. Πίστεις, 550-618. ("The joys of a juror's life.")
 - a. 550-8. The pleas of the defendants before the trial.
 - b. 560-575. The varied coaxing and supplications of the defendants during the trial.
 - c. 578-582. Other entertainments provided for the dicasts.
 - d. 583-7. Their power absolute and unchecked.
 - e. 590-602. The Council, Assembly, and demagogues court them.
 - f. 605-618. The pay makes them respected at home.
3. Ἐπίλογος, 619-630.
"Since all this is so, I am as powerful as Zeus."

B. The speech of Bdelycleon, 650-724.

1. Προοίμιον, 650-5. The difficulty of the case. (A πρόθεσις is given in Philocleon's interruption, 652-4.)

2. Πίστεις, 656-718.¹

- a. 656-664. The amount of the tribute and state-revenues compared with the amount of the dicasts' fees.
- b. 666-679. The difference goes into the pockets of the demagogues, with many bribes in addition.
- c. 682-5. Yet the empire was won by the people.
- d. 686-695. The insults the jurors suffer to earn their fee.
- e. 698-718. An equal division of the revenues would enable all the Athenians to live in luxury.

3. Ἐπίλογος, 719-724.

"It is because of my devotion to you that I keep you here at home."

Vespae 907-930 and 950-979

Γένος Δικανικόν

A. The speech of the accuser (Κυὼν), 907-930.

1. Προσίμιον, 907-9.
2. Διήγησις, 910-4. Statement of the crime.
3. Πίστεις, 915-6. "If criminals give me no share of their loot, I cannot benefit you jurors."²
4. Ἐπίλογος, 922-930. A direct attack on the defendant and a demand for strict punishment.

B. The speech of the ξυνήγορος for the defendant, 950-979.

1. Προσίμιον, 950-1.
2. Πίστεις, 952-966.
 - a. 952-8. The defendant's services to the state.
 - b. 958-9. The plea of ignorance and lack of education.
 - c. 962-6. The evidence of the witness.
3. Ἐπίλογος, 967-979. An appeal for pity, an attack on the accuser, and the weeping of the defendant's children.

¹ Although Bdelycleon has been taking notes on his father's speech, he says not a word about his first five arguments. He spends all his time answering Philocleon's last point, the question of the dicasts' fee. Obviously, this is the only argument offered by Philocleon which Aristophanes or his audience would take seriously. But cf. Starkie *Wasps* Ex. IV, who connects this speech with the anti-imperialistic policies of the oligarchs.

² Philocleon's interruption in 912-4 is a σημείον, to prove that the facts of the crime are as stated. No other real proof is given, since the facts are admitted; βεβαίωσις would be a better name than πίστεις here.

Aves 467-626¹

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

1. Προοίμιον, 467-470.
2. Πίστεις, 471-521.
 - a. 471-8. The evidence of Aesop.
 - b. 481-492. The cock once ruled over the Persians.
 - c. 499-501. The kite once ruled over Greece.
 - d. 504-6. The cuckoo ruled over Aegypt and Phoenicia.
 - e. 508-521. Birds sat upon the sceptres of kings and still are present among the gods.
3. Ἐπίλογος, 522-538. "Contrast this former glory with the insulting treatment you receive now."

This concludes the first and more formal part of the speech; what follows is a series of concrete proposals (550-570), and a group of refutations. The chorus and the Hoopoe offer objections, which Peisthetaerus answers (571-585), and the speech ends with a list of the various advantages which men will enjoy if they accept the birds as gods (586-626). A more precise division than this need not be given.

Lysistrata 507-597

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

The Agôn of the *Lysistrata* is a similar passage; the dialogue form nearly obliterates the speech of Lysistrata which underlies the whole. Nevertheless, by omitting the introductory remarks (486-506) and the jesting pnigos and antipnigos, we can see a fairly connected speech, divided somewhat as follows:

1. Προοίμιον, 507-9.
2. Διήγησις, 510-528.
The mistakes and stupidity of the men in the past.
3. Πρόθεσις, 551-4.²
With the help of Aphrodite the women will stop the war.

¹ The many interruptions during Peisthetaerus' argument in some measure destroy the rhetorical nature of this speech; it is actually a dialogue, but since it shows some of the devices of rhetoric and has been cited above, I include a possible outline. It may be noted that the interruptions of Euelpides are usually further examples, added for the sake of a joke; the remarks and questions of the chorus and Hoopoe are often objections which serve to introduce refutations.

² Cf. the arrangement of Praxagora's speech in *Ecc.* 171-240.

4. Πίστεις, 555-593.
 - a. 555-564. The foolishness of the soldiers will be stopped.
 - b. 565-586. The method to be employed.
 - c. 587-593. (*Refutatio*) "It is not true that women have no share in war. Mothers contribute their sons, young wives do without their husbands, and the maidens lose their chance to be married."
5. Ἐπίλογος, 594-7. An appeal for sympathy for the maidens.

Lysistrata 1124-1161

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

1. Προοίμιον, 1124-7.¹
2. Πίστεις, 1128-1156.
 - a. 1128-1135. "Race, religion, and a common foe should prompt you to cease your fighting."
 - b. 1137-1146. The services of Athens to Sparta.
 - c. 1149-1156. The services of Sparta to Athens.
3. Ἐπίλογος, 1159-1161.
 "Why then do you not agree and stop the war?"

Thesmophoriazusae 383-432 and 466-519

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

- A. The speech against Euripides, 383-432.
 1. Προοίμιον, 383-388.
 2. Πρόθεσις, 389-394.
 "Euripides continually slanders us."
 3. Πίστεις, 395-428.
 - a. 395-406. "The men now suspect us of love affairs under all circumstances."
 - b. 407-9. "We can no longer palm off supposititious babies as our own."
 - c. 410-3. "Old men will no longer marry."
 - d. 414-7. "Our men lock us in and set dogs to guard us."
 - e. 418-428. "We can no longer filch household supplies."
 4. Ἐπίλογος, 428-432.
 "In view of all this I move that Euripides be put to death."

¹ The remarks of *Lysistrata*, 1112-1123, are not part of her formal speech to the Athenians and Spartans. Since the purpose of the speech, *Διαλλαγή*, is present and visible to all, no *πρόθεσις* is necessary.

B. The speech of the Kinsman of Euripides, 466-519.

1. Προίμιον, 466-472.

"No wonder you are angry at Euripides. I myself hate him. But let us speak frankly, since we are alone."

2. Πρόθεσις, 473-5.

"Why blame Euripides, when he mentions only a few of our many crimes?"¹

3. Πίστεις, 476-516.

a. Examples to show that women still have many love-affairs which Euripides has not mentioned. (This answers (a) of the first speaker's argument.)

i. 476-490. How the speaker deceived her husband.

ii. 491-501. "Women grant their favors to all, and some are clever enough to conceal their guilt."

b. 502-516. How another clever woman managed to pass off a counterfeit baby as her own. (Answers (b) of opponent.)

4. Ἐπίλογος, 517-9.

"This is just what we women do. Why be angry at Euripides, who hasn't told the half?"

Ecclesiastusae 171-240

Γένος Συμβουλευτικόν

1. Προίμιον, 171-5.

2. Διήγησις, 176-208. The bungling policy of the men.

a. 176-188. "We use knaves as political leaders; as an example, take Agyrrhius: we used to think him a scoundrel, now we take our ecclesiast's pay and praise him."

b. 193-203. "Vacillation in our foreign policy." (Four examples follow.)

c. 205-8. "Your selfishness is the cause of this."

3. Πρόθεσις, 209-211.

"We must turn the state over to the women."

¹ δρώσας μυρία, 475, αὔξεισις for rhetorical effect. Cf. *Rh. ad Alex.* 33, p. 64: δεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνων μικρὰ ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ σαυτοῦ αὔξειν . . . χρηὴ δὲ παρατιθέναι καὶ ἐν πρὸς ἑν, . . . καὶ πρὸς πλείω πλείω. . . . Here the two or three crimes mentioned by Euripides are made to seem small in comparison with the μυρία actually done.

4. *Πίστεις*, 211-238.

It is both possible and expedient to do this.

a. 211-2. "The women manage our homes."

b. 214-228. "Their moral superiority proved by their conservatism."

c. 229-235. "Being mothers, they will take good care of our soldiers."

d. 236-8. "They are clever, and cannot be deceived."

5. *Ἐπίλογος*, 239-240.

"If you approve this motion, you will gain lasting prosperity."¹

V

The reader who has followed my examination of Aristophanes' speeches and who will re-read these speeches with the foregoing facts in mind can judge for himself the extent of the comic poet's knowledge of rhetoric. I will not venture to say that I have proved that he actually studied rhetoric or was acquainted at first hand with one of the early *τέχναι*, but the clear and logical organization of the speeches treated above and the frequent appearance in them of rhetorical common-places, in my opinion, demonstrate his interest in and knowledge of the principles of the art. Although definite proof is out of the question, it is interesting to consider a few facts in conclusion.

In the first place, as I have pointed out, Aristophanes knows some of the technical terms of rhetoric, such as *ἀγών* in the sense of a rhetorical or legal debate (a use that seems to be connected with the law-courts and the schools of early rhetoric), *προοίμιον*, *εἰκός*, and *τεκμήριον*. It may be inferred, therefore, that he had some knowledge of rhetorical theory, although a keen observer like Aristophanes might have learned such terms merely by listening

¹ The more elaborate structure of this speech is matched by a style more antithetical than is found in any of the other speeches: cf. *τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν . . . ἐμοὶ δέ*, 171-3; *ἴσον μὲν . . . ἄχθομαι δέ*, 173-4; antithesis between *χρηστός* and *πονηρός*, 178; *τοὺς φιλεῖν μὲν βουλομένους . . . τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντας*, 181-2; *ὁ μὲν λαβὼν . . . ὁ δ' οὐ λαβὼν*, 186-7; *τῷ πένητι μὲν δοκεῖ . . . τοῖς πλουσίοις δέ*, 197-8; antithesis and *ισοκῶλα* in 199-200. So accurate is the parody that the speech would do credit to an actual speaker in the Assembly.

to the speakers in the courts and the Assembly. Nevertheless, we may be justified in supposing that at some time Aristophanes learned a certain amount of rhetoric from one of the sophist-rhetoricians or handbooks of his day.

In view of our fragmentary knowledge of the early Greek rhetoricians, it is almost useless to speculate at length about the teachers or the actual *τέχνη* which Aristophanes might have followed. One might be tempted to connect his knowledge of the art with Gorgias, whose visit to Athens in 427 B.C. so greatly stimulated the Athenians' interest in the art of oratory and rhetoric. There is, however, no positive evidence for this view, and chronological reasons are against it.¹ Furthermore, Aristophanes almost never uses the Gorgian figures, except in direct parodies of Euripides; the one notable exception, the highly antithetical speech of Praxagora (*Ecc.* 171-240), was written in 393 B.C., a date when a moderate use of the Gorgian figures might be found in any good orator. It is hard to believe that Aristophanes would not have imitated the style of Gorgias if he had known it in his youth; like the new dithyramb, it was easy to parody, and the result would have been irresistibly amusing.

Two other early rhetoricians should be mentioned in connection with Aristophanes, Thrasymachus and Antiphon. In his earliest play, the *Δαιταλῆς* (produced in 427 B.C.), Aristophanes mentions Thrasymachus;² we may infer that the Chalcedonian teacher was known in Athens at the time, and may have influenced the comic poet. A more probable supposition (although this too must remain a pure conjecture) is that Aristophanes imitates or parodies his contemporary and fellow-citizen Antiphon. He certainly knew the orator by name and by reputation;³ Antiphon was about a generation older than the poet, and may have been training

¹ Gorgias probably returned to Leontini in 427, and came back to Athens after 424 (Blass I 50). By that time Aristophanes had written four plays which show some knowledge of rhetoric. Gorgias is first mentioned by name in *Vesp.* 421 (422 B.C.).

² Fr. 198 K.; at least, a Thrasymachus is called upon to help interpret the monstrous word *καλοκάγαθία*; Blass I 245, with some probability, identifies him with the well-known rhetorician.

³ *Vesp.* 1301.

speakers in the poet's youth.¹ Whether he wrote a *τέχνη* may be doubtful,² and its date is beyond conjecture; but at any rate we know that his collection of *προοίμια καὶ ἐπίλογοι* was known as early as 423 B.C., when Cratinus parodied one of its common-places in his *Πυτίνη*.³ If this collection was known to Aristophanes a few years earlier, he might have used it to construct some of his speeches.⁴ This is as far as one can safely go on the question of Aristophanes' sources. It is, of course, perfectly possible that he knew the *τέχνη* of Corax or Tisias, but such a statement can neither be proved nor refuted. On the other hand, it seems clear that his knowledge of the sophistic teaching aided him in building up his arguments on common-places and examples, two of the main contributions of the sophists to oratory.⁵ Finally, it must be noted that Aristophanes owes something to the example of Euripides, whose rhetorical speeches he adapts and parodies on several occasions.⁶ By the time that Aristophanes first started writing his comedies, Euripides had been active for nearly thirty years, and several of the most rhetorical of his plays belong to the decade 440-430,⁷ so that many excellent models were available to the comic poet from his earliest youth. To sum up, Aristophanes' youth was passed in the years when Protagoras and the other sophists were most active in Athens, when Euripides was present-

¹ Aly, who identifies Antiphon the rhetor with Antiphon-sophist, traces the activity of Antiphon back to the decade 440-430 (pp. 168-172). The *Tetralogies* probably appeared shortly after 425 (p. 166).

² Blass I 102, 114 questions it, but Spengel ΣΤ. 115-6 accepts it and argues that the *Tetralogies* formed a part of the work.

³ Blass I 115; Cratinus fr. 185 K.; Aristophanes apparently parodied the same work a year later, *Vesp.* 907-9 (*supra*, p. 86).

⁴ If this view can be accepted as probable, it will explain why the proem is usually the most carefully constructed part of Aristophanes' speeches.

⁵ Cf. Aristotle *Soph. Elench.* 34.

⁶ *Ach.* 496-556 and *Thesm.* 466-519, from the *Telephus*; *Lys.* 1125 from the *Melanippe*, 1131 from the *Erechtheus*; possibly more parodies lurk in this passage, which is quite tragic in tone.

⁷ E.g., 438 B.C., the *Telephus*, which contained the skilful defense of Telephus before the Achaeans, imitated by Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*; 431 B.C., the *Philoctetes*, which Dio Chrysostom calls *πολιτικωτάτη καὶ ῥητορικωτάτη*, and the *Medea*, with its excellent debate between Medea and Jason, 446-575.

ing his brilliant *ῥημάτων δεικνικά* on the tragic stage, and finally (after 430) when Antiphon and Thrasymachus were engaged in teaching rhetoric; with so much material at Aristophanes' disposal, it is no wonder that his comedies, which reflect almost all the current interests and fashions of Athens, exhibit some familiarity with the new rhetoric.

There is, then, no reason why we should not include Aristophanes with Euripides and Thucydides as a student of and, in some degree, a contributor to the art of rhetoric.¹ But there is one fundamental difference: Aristophanes is above all a comic poet. He does not accept rhetoric or exhibit it for its own sake. His first concern was to amuse his audience, even while inculcating those noble ideas that lie at the heart of his plays. In part, as it seems, his object in flavoring his speeches with rhetoric was to mock the rhetoricians (and especially Euripides) with sprightly and malicious parodies; and yet, in so doing, he shows how well he knew them and understood their devices. Furthermore, since every parody assumes an audience capable of recognizing its model, he indicates how keenly interested in the new art of rhetoric were the Athenians of the fifth century.

¹ Cf. J. H. Finley, Jr., "Euripides and Thucydides," in this same volume (pp. 22-68). Professor Finley's article, which I did not read until my essay was in proof, throws much additional light on the rhetorical commonplaces of the fifth century; if read in connection with the present article, it will, I believe, confirm and amplify many details in my argument.

PLINY THE YOUNGER'S VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT *

BY MASON HAMMOND

PLINY the Younger was not a profound thinker.¹ This discussion, therefore, scarcely deserves such a title as "the political philosophy of Pliny." On the other hand, he expresses a fairly consistent point of view in his various remarks on political questions, whether in the general discussion of Trajan's rule in the *Panegyric* or in connection with specific matters in the *Letters*. Moreover, Pliny comes

* The text of Pliny is quoted from the Teubner edition by M. Schuster, Leipzig, 1933. References to the *Panegyric* are given by paragraph and section number only, without *Pan.*, e.g. 88.7; those to the *Letters* are given by book (Roman numeral), letter, and section numbers, e.g. III 18.3. Other references to ancient authors have the name of the author and work preceding. Apart from familiar abbreviations such as BMCRE (*Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*), CAH (*Cambridge Ancient History*), CIL (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*), PW (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*), the following books are cited by author's name only: E. Allain, *Pline le Jeune et ses héritiers*, 4 vols., Paris, 1901-1902; H. Bender, *Der Jüngere Plinius nach seinen Briefen*, Tübingen, 1873; A. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *Pliny's Letters*, Philadelphia, 1872; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. in 5, Berlin, 1892-1906; M. Hammond, *The Augustan Principate*, Cambridge, 1933; L. Homo, *Le Haut-Empire*, Paris, 1933; Th. Mommsen, *Étude sur Pline le Jeune*, translated with author's corrections from the original article, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Jüngeren Plinius," *Hermes* III (1869), 31-139 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* IV 366-468), by C. Morel, Paris, 1873; A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wessen des Prinzipats*, München, 1937 (*Abh. des bay. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Abt., neue Folge, Heft 15); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926; M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, II Teil ed. 4, München, 1935; K. Scott, "The Elder and the Younger Pliny on Emperor Worship," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* LXIII (1932), 156-165; C. Solimena, *Plinio il Giovine e il Diritto pubblico di Roma*, Napoli, 1905.

¹ Though his friendships with philosophers, as Euphrates (I 10) or Artemidorus (III 11), were sincere, he was not a member of the Stoic circle which included Musonius Rufus and Epictetus. He praises suicide (I 12 and 22) but does not discuss it as had Seneca, nor does he raise questions of immortality or fate, even as superficially as Tacitus (*Ann.* VI 22). He questions the existence of phantoms only to tell ghost-stories (VII 27). Cf. Bender, 28; Allain, II 116-119; K. A. Geiger, *Der Selbstmord im klassischen Altertum*, Augsburg, 1888, 27.

closer than any other major Latin author to representing that hypothetical figure of historical or political argument, "the average man."¹ In particular, he reflects with less personal bias than his greater contemporary, Tacitus, the attitude of the upper class in the Flavian and Antonine period towards the form of government under which they lived. During that period, the Roman Empire is generally admitted to have achieved its highest success with respect to territorial expansion, material well-being, and effective government.² Under the Julio-Claudians, because of the novelty of the principate, the lack of an established order and organization to control the vagaries of individual princes, and the hostility of the surviving Republican nobility, conditions had remained unstable; at the end of the second century A.D., the ordered society of the first two centuries began to break down under the pressure of various social, economic, and political weaknesses so that the third and fourth centuries witnessed the creation of the despotic monarchy. The speeches of Dio Chrysostom and Aristides contain philosophical discussions of the monarchy from the Greek, Stoic point of view,³ but it is worth while to analyze the statements of Pliny in order to show how fully the Stoic theory had been absorbed into the common opinions of the Roman upper class.

Pliny belonged to that new aristocracy which had risen from municipal or provincial origins through the imperial service to replace the rapidly vanishing old republican nobility. These newcomers were probably in a large measure descendants of Roman or Latin settlers; for, despite Claudius' admission of Gallic chiefs to the senate, the native peoples, and particularly those of the Greek east, became

¹ Bender (28-29), after comparing him with Seneca and Tacitus, calls him "ein Typus seiner Zeit."

² E.g., Solimena, 1-8. It is unnecessary to repeat Gibbon's famous phrase on the happiness of this period (near the end of ch. III, p. 85 in Bury's 1914 edition). Cf. for a criticism, CAH XI 853.

³ Rostovtzeff, 109-111 (Dio Chrysostom), 125-129 (Aristides). The conclusion of J. Morr (*Die Lobrede des jüng. Plin. und die erste Königsrede des Dio von Prusa*, Prog. d. deutsch. Staatsgymn., Troppau, 1915) that Pliny probably used Dio Chrysostom is not generally accepted; Schanz-Hosius, 661; M. Schuster, Bursian's *Jahresber.* CCXX (1929), 46, who, however, admits that Pliny may have heard Dio's first speech. His one reference to Dio is, nevertheless, wholly impersonal (X 81(85)). Cf. also CAH XI 201.

prominent only towards the end of the second century.¹ Even the emperors of municipal or provincial origin, Vespasian, from Reate, who extended Latin rights to Spain, Trajan, of Spanish origin himself, and Hadrian, for all his Hellenism, continued the cautious policy of the Julio-Claudians with respect to the extension of senatorial rights. Not until the reign of Marcus did the influx of easterners become rapid.² Pliny, therefore, is still conscious of the superiority of Romans to the rest of the world.³ A century had yet to elapse before the Edict of Caracalla could extend a worthless citizenship to almost all the subjects of Rome. These new senators preserved many of the homely, if uninspired, virtues which the older aristocracy had already lost by the time of Catullus or Ovid. Moreover, as outsiders

¹ Mommsen (33) points out that the *Caecilii*, Pliny's family, had been prominent in Comum since the time of Catullus (*Carm.* 35.2-3; cf. Church and Brodribb 2). That Pliny's father was the *L. Caecilius L.f. Cilo* of Dessau, 1728 (= CIL V 5279), with whom Mommsen (32) identified him, is denied by more recent critics (Schuster, 467 n. 1; Schanz-Hosius, 658; PW III (5) 1199 Caecilius 40, 1233 Caecilius 115). Nevertheless, his father seems to have remained a simple *municipis* of Comum (Allain, I 25), while his uncle rose high in the equestrian civil service, and he himself became senator. Similarly, Tacitus may have been the son of an imperial (equestrian) procurator of Belgica (Pliny *N.H.* VII 76; Schanz-Hosius, 603, 605). In general, cf. Rostovtzeff, 99, 107, 517 n. 28, 518 n. 9.

² C. S. Walton, "Oriental Senators in the service of Rome," *Journal of Roman Studies* XIX (1929), 38-66; CAH XI 419. Early examples of the careers of Asiatics at Rome are the Quadrati of Pergamum, C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, suffect consul in 93, and C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, suffect consul in 105 and general of Trajan and Hadrian (cf. W. Weber, who wrongly identifies them, "Zu der Inschrift des Iulius Quadratus," *Abhandl. der preuss. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1932 no. 5, 57-95, especially 69; R. Herzog, *Sitzber. der preuss. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1933 X-XII, 408-415; A. von Premerstein, *Sitzber. der bay. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1934 heft 3; CAH XI 10, 44, with refs.).

³ Walton (56) points out that Aristeides (*To Rome* 63) considers as antiquated the division between Romans and Greeks and divides the world into Romans (i.e. those in the empire) and non-Romans (those outside). Inter-marriage, beginning with such instances as those of the philosophers Artemidorus to the daughter of Musonius Rufus (III 11.5) and Euphrates to the daughter of Pompeius Julianus (I 10.8) and culminating in the marriage of two of Marcus' daughters to men whom Walton (59) suspects to have been of eastern origin, must have improved the status of the easterners immensely.

finally admitted to a select "club," the newcomers were, if anything, more conscious of the traditions of the senate, more concerned with its dignities and liberties, than had been many of the older nobility who, from familiarity, were fully conscious of its faults.

On the other hand, Pliny's circle, promoted by imperial favor, no longer felt the hostility to the principate which had permeated the senate under the Julio-Claudians. It had substituted for an urban, or city-state, point of view towards government an imperial one. And it regarded office not as the privilege of a few but as a duty of the properly qualified. It envisaged the extension of nobility to worthy families; at least Pliny says about the admission to the senate of an able quaestor:

cur enim te principe, qui generis tui claritatem virtute superasti, deterior esset condicio eorum, qui posteros habere nobiles mererentur, quam eorum, qui parentes habuissent?

This passage, combined with a longer one immediately preceding, has been variously interpreted.¹ Gelzer, influenced by his theory that

¹ The quotation is from 70.2 (cf. 69.4-6). Solimena (66) accepts the obvious interpretation. The articles here discussed are as follows: M. Gelzer, *Hermes* L (1915), 395-415; W. Otto, *Hermes* LI (1916), 73-88; E. Stein, *Hermes* LII (1917), 564-571; E. Groag, *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institut in Wien* XXI/XXII (1924), Beiblatt 445. F. de Martino (*Lo Stato di Augusto*, Naples, 1936, 145-146, n. 115) accepts Gelzer's view and cites Ros-tovtzeff, *Ital. ed.* 53, a passage not in *Eng. ed.* 47. von Premerstein (113 n. 1) apparently accepts Gelzer also (cf. 16) and Volkmann cites in support Stras-burger, *PW* XVII(33) 790, s.v. *nobiles*. The transition of thought between the two passages is: "you have not only revived the remnants of the old nobility but have enrolled in the senate new merit which will create new nobles." The quaestor in question was *unus ex candidatis*; hence Pliny uses of his admission to the senate in virtue of the imperial *commendatio* the verb appropriate to enrollment in the senate by the emperor, *adlegandum*. The *hoc*, rather than *hunc*, used as subject (in indirect discourse) with *adlegandum*, if it is correct, must refer to the "new blood" of which the individual in question serves as an example. P. L. Strack (*Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahr-hunderts*, I, *Trajan*, Stuttgart, 1931, 44), argues that it would have been im-possible to envisage a "restored republic" of the old families because of the degree to which these, and especially the patrician families, had died out by the time of Trajan.

nobilitas during the republic was confined to those whose ancestors had been consuls, maintained that under the empire the families descended from the republican *nobilitas* reserved this appellation to themselves as a social, not a political, mark of distinction and, in their hostility to the empire, denied that any new *nobiles* could be created since admission to office now depended not on merit, demonstrated by popular election, but on imperial favor rubber-stamped by an obsequious senate. In this view he was supported by Stein, while Otto, adhering to the older theory that all the families of any curule magistrate became *nobiles*, argued that the practice continued during the principate. Groag, accepting Gelzer's contention that *nobilitas* could not be extended under the empire, thought that all families descended from republican senators claimed the distinction. Without entering deeply into this controversy, it can at least be said that Gelzer and Stein are compelled to force the obvious sense of the above passage from Pliny so as to make the *mererentur* contrary to fact, "who might deserve to have noble posterity (but in fact cannot)" while *habuissent* remains a statement of fact, put into the subjunctive only by attraction to the hypothetical subjunctive of the main verb. Otto correctly argued that both subordinate verbs stand on the same footing and certainly, despite the passages collected by Gelzer from Tacitus, it seems more in accordance with the sense of this passage, with the preceding passage, with Pliny's general statements that Trajan has revived the republican dignity of senate and magistrates, with the use of *nobilissimus* as a title a century later, and with common sense to translate this question: "why should the condition of those who deserve to have noble posterity (and by your action in putting them into the senate will have them) be worse than that of those who had noble ancestors?"

Of the two parts of Pliny's works, the *Panegyric* is the more important for his views upon the principate and the *Letters* for incidental generalizations upon other aspects of political thought. The *Panegyric* is a revision, with copious additions, of the speech in which, before the senate and probably on September 1, 100 A.D., Pliny thanked the emperor Trajan for bestowing a suffect consulship for the following two months upon himself and his associate Cornu-

tus.¹ Pliny's opening remarks show that such *gratiarum actiones* had long been customary.² They are referred to in the somewhat later correspondence of Fronto and Marcus.³ But the other surviving examples are from the late third and fourth centuries and the *Panegyric* of Pliny has descended independently from his letters, in a collection of speeches of thanks or outright laudation made in Gaul during the fourth century.⁴ Hence it may be concluded that Pliny's speech, at least in its published form, was far more elaborate than others of its time and that, preserved perhaps in some now lost collection of his speeches, it served as a model for the rhetoricians of the fourth century with whose works it is now connected. Such a work must naturally be laudatory, not to say adulatory.⁵

¹ Pliny himself tells us that he reworked the speech (III 13 and 18) and, by implication, apologizes for doing so (25.1). J. Mesk "Die Überarbeitung des Plin. Pan. auf Traian," (*Wiener Studien* XXII [1910], 239-260) concludes that not much of the original can be recovered from the existing version. For Pliny's published speeches cf. Schanz-Hosius, 658-660. For the date cf. Schanz-Hosius, 657 n. 12, where Mommsen is inaccurately reported. In his original article (91) he gives as alternative dates July 1 and Sept. 1, and in the French translation (66) he definitely accepts Sept. 1.

² 2.2-3, 4.1-3; II 1.5, VI 27.

³ In the Loeb edition, C. R. Haines, London and New York, 2 vols., 1919-1920, Marcus' speech of thanks for the consulship in 140, I 34-35 (Naber, p. 45); for the second consulship in 145 (or the *trib. pot.* in 147), I 188-189 (Naber, 77); for his elevation as Caesar in 139-140, I 18-19 (Naber, 253); Fronto's thanks for his consulship, I 108-113 (Naber, 25-26), I 118-119 (Naber, 20-21). Cf. introd. to vol. I p. xix.

⁴ For the collection of panegyrics, cf. Schanz-Hosius, ed. 3, III 138 § 578 and, on the general subject of panegyric under the later empire, L. K. Born, "The Perfect Prince according to the Latin Panegyrists," *American Journal of Philology* LV (1934), 20-35.

⁵ 1.6, *tantumque a specie adulationis absit gratiarum actio mea, quantum abest a necessitate*; VI 27.2, *etsi non adulatione, specie tamen adulationis abstinui etc.* as in n. 2, 121. Schanz-Hosius (661) too severely call the *Pan.* "ein höchst unerfreuliches Produkt." Cf. also CAH XI 200-201 (R. P. Longden), 736 (E. E. Sikes) for equally unfavorable judgments, though Longden acknowledges Pliny's sincerity. Scott (159) collects the passages which contrast this voluntary panegyric with the necessary ones under Domitian and (156) draws a good parallel from Martial. He perhaps goes too far in limiting the meaning of *adulatio* at this time to "the paying of superhuman honors to a prince" (159 n. 16), though he compares 2.3, quoted below, p. 123.

But Pliny asserts that the praise is sincere, that he is not trying to reprove vices by portraying virtues, that, in fact, the speech is not what later came to be called a *speculum principis*.¹ It is safe to assume on the one hand that Trajan really tried to be "constitutional" and on the other, that Pliny could compromise between "republicanism" and an acceptance of the principate.

Though Pliny realized that the principate was inevitable,² he felt

¹ Born (*op. cit.* n. 12 pp. 21-22) regards the *Pan.* as a *speculum*, but cf. 3.4, *nam merenti gratias agere facile est, patres conscripti. non enim periculum est, ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat etc.* and III 18.3, *nam praecipere, qualis esse debeat princeps, pulchrum quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est; laudare vero optimum principem ac per hoc posteris velut e specula lumen, quod sequantur, ostendere idem utilitatis habet, adrogantiae nihil.* The senate had already voted to Trajan the title *Optimus* (2.7; cf. below, n. 4, 124), which was closely associated with Jupiter (1.6) and recalls the bestowal of the equally religious title *Augustus* upon Octavian (Hammond, 110 and 266). Tacitus' admiration for Trajan in contrast to Domitian seems equally sincere (*Hist.* I 1), as does that of Dio Chrysostom, who says (III 12-13) that he need not flatter Trajan. J. Mesk ("Zur Quellenanalyse des Plin. *Pan.*," *Wiener Studien* XXIII [1911], 71-100) suggests that Seneca, *de Clem.* I 14.2, on Nero *Pater Patriae*, may be the model for Pliny's remarks on Trajan *Optimus*. He also cites parallels to the *Pan.* from Tacitus' *Agr.* and *Hist.* I 15-17 (Galbo's speech on adopting Piso) with the suggestion that Pliny drew on Tacitus. Such analyses are not, however, very convincing.

² When he complains (III 20.10-12) that the opportunities for discussing affairs of state are rarer than among the ancients, he says: *sunt quidem cuncta sub unius arbitrio, qui pro utilitate communi solus omnium curas laboresque suscipit.* Von Premerstein, twice (177, 220) quotes this passage as evidence for the overwhelming *auctoritas* of the emperor; cf. also Homo, 425 n. 32; CAH XI 424. Cf. IV 25.5, on the ill success of secret balloting in the senate, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς μελήσει, and 9.1, *successor, etiamsi nolis, habendus est; non est habendus socius, nisi velis*; cf. CAH XI 415. Bender (26) draws too extreme a contrast, however, between Pliny's acceptance of the monarchy and the rigidity of Thrasea Paetus or the sentimental regrets of Tacitus. Though Pliny (VI 27.2) says of his *Pan.*, continuing from the words quoted in n. 5, 120, *non tamquam liber et constans* (i.e. a Stoic), *sed tamquam intelligens principis nostri, cuius videbam hanc esse praecipuam laudem, si nihil quasi ex necessitate decernerem*, he also quotes with pride (VII 33.9) the congratulations of Nerva, before he became emperor, on his prosecution of Baebius Massa in 93 A.D., *non mihi solum, verum etiam saeculo est gratulatus, cui exemplum, sic enim scripsit, simile antiquis contigisset.*

that the choice of a ruler should depend not upon simple inheritance but upon the selection of the most deserving:

an senatum populumque Romanum, exercitus, provincias, socios transmissurus uni successorem e sinu uxoris accipias summaeque potestatis heredem tantum intra domum tuam quaeras? non per totam civitatem circumferas oculos et hunc tibi proximum, hunc coniunctissimum existimes, quem optimum, quem dis simillimum inveneris? imperaturus omnibus eligi debet ex omnibus.¹

The choice of Trajan by Nerva was not only inspired by the gods but, more important, it was a real *electio*, supported by the unanimous consent of the senate and people and by the prayers of all men.² Pliny glossed over the influence which the army had exercised upon the choice of Trajan, a general who was, perhaps, not the type which the senate would have preferred.³ Furthermore, it may be doubted

¹ 7.5. Last, CAH XI 413, states that this passage marks the final triumph of the program of the republican *populares*; the career open to talent now applies even to the principate.

² For the coöperation of the gods, especially Jupiter, cf. 1.5, 5.3-8, 8.1-3, 68.1. The coins indicate that Trajan's rescue from an earthquake at Antioch in 114-115 (Dio LXVIII 25.5) was due to Jupiter (BMCRE III lxxii). Nerva's own highest claim to divinity was his choice of Trajan (11.3), praise which Allain (I 224-226) condemns unjustly as insincere. For the support of the senate etc., cf. 10.2. The coins show Trajan in a much more positive rôle than Nerva and suggest a certain opposition of policy beneath the outward continuity (BMCRE III lxx-lxxi; Strack, *op. cit.* above, n. 1, 118). For Trajan's *pietas*, however, cf. BMCRE III xcv, citing 21.3, 75.3; Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* I 15.

³ The epitome of Dio (LXVIII 3.3-4; cf. John of Antioch fr. 110 M verses 1-6) and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (12.7) connect the adoption of Trajan with the mutiny of the praetorians which forced Nerva to execute Petronius the praefect and Parthenius the chamberlain for their part in the murder of Domitian (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 23.1; R. Syme, "The Imperial Finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan," *Journal of Roman Studies* XX [1930], 61-65). Pliny apparently refers to this *motum castrensem* in 5.7-6.5, where he speaks of the emperor Nerva being shut up and unable to save from death those whom he wished. The adoption of Trajan served to rescue Nerva and the country from this mutiny. But in 8.5 he speaks as though the trouble began after the adoption, *ut nuper post adoptionem non desierit seditio, sed coeperit*. In 5.2, he emphasizes the difference *inter imperatorem, quem homines* (i.e. troops ?) *et quem di fecissent*.

whether Trajan, who throughout his reign displayed a certain amount of megalomania, was as unwilling to reign as Pliny pretends.¹

As emperor, Trajan stood in Pliny's eyes far above the highest dignities of other citizens.² He possessed not only the inner qualities but also the external good appearance which the ancients regarded as necessary in public life.³ Yet no slave-borne sedan chair exalted him above other princes, but fame, glory, piety and liberty.⁴ He was no lord and god, but a true prince:⁵

nusquam ut deo, nusquam ut numini blandiamur; non enim de tyranno, sed de cive, non de domino, sed de parente loquimur. et hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ille se ex nobis putat nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit.⁶

¹ 5.5, *recusabas enim imperare, recusabas, quod erat bene imperaturi*; cf. 7.1. Longden however, CAH XI 202, cf. 203 n. 1, calls Trajan "far from greedy of worldly honors."

² 61.2, *altissimae civium dignitates*.

³ 4.7; cf. E. C. Evans, "Roman description of personal appearance in History and Biography," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLVI (1935), 43-84.

⁴ 24.5. Suetonius (*Aug.* 53.2) says of Augustus: *in consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adoperta sella per publicum incessit*. On the *sella* and *lectica* cf. A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitth.* XLIX (1934), 103-106.

⁵ 7.6, *non enim servulis tuis dominum . . . sed principem civibus daturus es imperator*; 55.6-11, especially § 7, *sedemque obtinet principis, ne sit domino locus*; 88.1, quoted in n. 1, 135. Scott (160-162), who translates the second passage, points out the contrast with Domitian. Cf. Martial *passim* and Suet. *Dom.* 13.1 with Janssen's discussion (*Suet. Tranq. Vit. Dom.*, Groningen & The Hague, 1919, 62-63) of the use of *dominus* as a polite form of address, as in Pliny's letters to Trajan. For this last, cf. also CAH XI 201 n. 2, 412 n. 8. Not to use the title officially was another return to Augustan "constitutionalism" (*Suet. Aug.* 53.1; Dio LV 12.2). So Tiberius said that he would be master to his slaves, *imperator* to his troops, and prince to his people (Dio LVII 8.2). Pliny uses the terms *imperator* and *princeps* interchangeably for the most part (D. McFayden, *History of the Title Emperor under the Roman Empire*, Chicago, 1920, 66). But he knew the distinction, as is clear from 22.3, *cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent*. In 23.3, he notes that Trajan's troops in his triumph wore civil, not military, garb, as was constitutional. Under Hadrian, L. Perret (*La titulature imp. d'Had.*, Paris, 1929, 76-92) notes an increasing use of *dominus* officially, alongside the polite use, as symptomatic of a general recognition of the monarchical character of the principate at that time.

⁶ 2.3-4 with Schuster's omission and addition; cf. 88.1, quoted in n. 1, 135; R. P. Longden (CAH XI 201) emphasizes the opposition between *dominatio* and

In his emphasis on fame, glory, and the like as the qualities which make a man a prince among his fellows and eventually secure to him immortality, Pliny merely echoes the best thought of antiquity, and especially of Cicero in his *Somnium Scipionis*.¹ It is less important to be Caesar and Augustus than to be better than all emperors, Caesars, and Augusti.² Trajan wanted no empty titles but the true and eternal glory of self-control and moderation.³ Even the title *Optimus*, for all its religious associations, was in Pliny's eyes something senatorial and civil.⁴

On becoming consul, Trajan took the customary oath to obey the laws, which showed that *non est 'princeps supra leges,' sed 'leges supra principem,'*⁵ Pliny appears to have in mind the Stoic concept of the king as animate law when he states: *regimur quidem a te et subiecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus sumus*.⁶ Thus Trajan's life

principatus and cites Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* I 22, III 48 (cf. Scott, 159-160). So Martial on Nerva, X 72.8, *non est hic dominus sed imperator*. Cf. also K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians*, Stuttgart/Berlin, 1936, 109-110. A. Alföldi, *op. cit.*, contrasts with 2.2 the "hymnischen Ton" of 1.3, 14.1, 23.4, 80.3-5.

¹ Pliny discusses fame in IX 3 and, with reference to Verginius Rufus and Frontinus, in IX 19. The prominence of Fortune is symptomatic of the age. Mattingly (BMCRE III lxxiv n. 2) cites 9.4, 10.3, 15.1, 24.2, 31.1, 60.6, 83.1, 85.6.

² 88.7. He will be a model to future rulers (2.9, 73.6, 88.10, III 18.2).

³ 55.8; cf. 21 and Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* I 22, for his refusal of the title *pater patriae* on his accession. He accepted it later, however.

⁴ 2.7. The coins indicate that *Optimus* was not used as a specific title until 114-115. After 104, *optimo principi* becomes very common (BMCRE III lxi-lxii, lxx-lxxi). Cf. CAH XI 203, 243.

⁵ 65.1. Nevertheless, the slightly earlier phrase, *ipse te legibus subiecisti, legibus, Caesar, quas nemo principi scripsit*, shows that by Pliny's time the doctrine that the emperor was above the law had become established (cf. Ulpian in *Dig.* I 3.31; Dio LIII 18.1, 28.2; Hammond, 114-116; von Premerstein, 183, 193, 197, who applies the doctrine to Augustus; CAH XI 399).

⁶ 24.4 E. R. Goodenough ("The political philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* I [1928]) says that the concept of the king as animate law was not Stoic but Pythagorean. Nevertheless, this doctrine is referred to in a fragment of Musonius Rufus, whom, however, Goodenough (94) calls an "eclectic Stoic," *εἴπερ δὲ αὐτὸν* [i.e. τὸν βασιλέα], *ὥσπερ ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς, νόμον ἔμφυχον εἶναι*. Cf. Stobaeus IV 7.67 (Wachsmuth & Hense IV p. 283 vv. 24-25 = O. Hense, *C. Musonii Rufi Reliquiae*, Leipzig, 1905, sel. viii p. 37 vv. 1-2) and E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, 370.

must be a constant censorship, for he must rule not so much through the *imperium* as by his example. Fear is an uncertain teacher of the right, and good examples teach best by showing that what they recommend is practical.¹ In a letter, Pliny relates how much he enjoyed sitting on the emperor's *concilium* at Centum Cellae; *quid enim iucundius quam principis iustitiam, gravitatem, comitatem in secessu quoque, ubi maxime recluduntur, inspicere*.² Trajan had the vows for his health taken with the proviso *si bene rem publicam et ex utilitate omnium rexit*.³ Pliny imagines him even thinking to himself: *ego quidem in me, si omnium utilitas ita posceret, etiam praefecti manum armavi*, a passage which may be the source of the famous anecdote in Aurelius Victor that when Trajan gave the sword of office to the praetorian praefect Suburanus, he said: *tibi istum ad munimentum mei committo, si recte agam; sin aliter, in me magis*.⁴ The good ruler, in fact, conscious of his brief and transitory existence, should strive to leave memorials of justice and moderation whereby he may benefit the state even after his death.⁵

Despite Pliny's emphasis on Trajan as a prince rather than a god, he accepted the institution of emperor-worship as applied not only to the deceased and apotheosized rulers but, apparently, even to the

¹ 45.6, a Stoic passage, quoted in n. 1, 138. In 66.5, he says: *neque enim umquam deceptus est princeps, nisi qui prius ipse decepit*. So Dio (LII 34.1, 39.2-4) makes Maecenas recommend to Augustus that he rule by example rather than by legal penalties (cf. Pliny's advice to Maximus, VIII 24.6, cited below, 137-138). In general, cf. W. Weber, *Princeps*, I, Stuttgart, 1936, 168*-174* n. 611, especially p. 173*.

² VI 31.2; for his presence in the *concilium* cf. Solimena, 136, citing also IV 22, VI 22, VII 6. For *iustitia*, cf. X 55, *non est ex iustitia nostrorum temporum*; coins, BMCRE III lxxv.

³ 67.4.

⁴ 67.8; Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 13.9.

⁵ 78.2. So Dio (LII 39.2) makes Maecenas advise Augustus to rule as he would be ruled if he were a subject. Pliny, however, did not confine himself to the moral benefits of Trajan's virtues. In X 14(9), he congratulated the emperor on a victory and concluded *cum virtutibus tantis gloria imperii et novetur et augeatur*, where *virtutibus* probably means "bravery." Mattingly (BMCRE III lxxv n. 1) remarks that Pliny (16.3) makes Trajan out as not aggressive; *nam ut ipse nolis pugnare moderatio, fortitudo tua praestat ut neque hostes tui velint*. Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* I 27; J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrischen Münzen*, Stuttgart, 1924, p. 68.

living emperor. Since Pliny's attitude in this matter has been studied by Scott, his conclusions may be quoted.

Both the Elder and the Younger Pliny show that their acceptance of the official consecration of the deceased ruler was based upon their belief that the institution afforded an incentive to good deeds and a reward for the worthy prince. Both, however, hold that the only real deification is that which rests in the appreciative hearts and minds of men. . . . For both, as doubtless for all the upper classes of Roman society, there seems to have existed no religious belief in the imperial cult, and it appears to have been accepted and obeyed by them only for its theoretical and practical value as a political institution.¹

Scott shows that although Pliny contrasts the divine honors demanded by Domitian with Trajan's modesty, he regarded consecration after death as a reward of merit.² Thus he received from Trajan, who professed himself chary of granting such requests, permission to dedicate a statue of Nerva with those of earlier emperors in a temple which he had erected at Tifernum.³ Moreover, not only did Pliny recognize the worship of the living emperor in the provinces and, as governor of Bithynia, celebrate the customary *vota*, which had a semi-religious significance, but he also included the statue of Trajan among those of the divinities before whom he required the Christians to make offering.⁴

¹ Scott, 165.

² For contrasts between Domitian and Trajan cf. 33.4, 45.3, 49.1, 52, 54, 55. Nerva received consecration for adopting Trajan (10.4-6); Trajan's deification of Nerva contrasted with preceding deifications (11.1-4); Trajan's merits will earn him deification even more than did those of Titus (35.4).

³ X 8(24)-9(25); cf. Trajan's respect for an area dedicated to the cult of Claudius (X 70(75)-71(76)).

⁴ 30.5 suggests emperor-worship in Egypt; cf. Scott, 164. X 35(44)-36(45), 88(89)-89(90), 100(101)-103(104) refer to *vota*. Without treating here the problems involved in Pliny's test of Christianity, I may refer to von Premerstein's discussion of the emperor's statue in the legionary shrines, 85-99. Possibly Pliny distinguishes between the gods and Trajan in X 96(97).5, *cum praeaeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent*. And it is noteworthy that Trajan does not mention his own statue in his reply, X 97(98).1, *id est supplicando dis nostris*. Charlesworth, CAH XI 42, suggests that Domitian made the sacrifice before the image of the emperor a test of loyalty. This might explain Trajan's silence. Cf. also A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitth.* XLIX (1934), 65-79, especially 73-74.

To turn from the emperor himself to the effects of his rule, Pliny says that under Trajan's good and tranquil rule, good men were advanced while the bad neither inspired nor felt fear.¹ When his friend Cornutus was appointed curator of the Aemilian Way, Pliny rejoiced that men now came by virtue not into risk but into honor.² The most evident and satisfactory consequence of this coöperation between the emperor and the best men in the state was the harmony which existed between Trajan and the senate after the bitterness of the reign of Domitian.³ Pliny here follows the tradition of the better emperors of the first century, which in turn was based on the doctrine derived by Cicero from the Stoics, that all good men should coöperate for the public weal. But Pliny recognized much more fully than did Cicero or Augustus the preëminence of the *princeps*.⁴ Although he was sent to Bithynia by Trajan in consequence of a decree of the senate and ranked more or less as a proconsul, he conducted his official correspondence with the emperor alone, without any hint that as governor of a senatorial province he felt any responsibility towards the senate.⁵ Even if it is true on the one hand that the

¹ 46.8; cf. 44-48. In I 5.1, Pliny describes his rival Regulus as *timidiorem, humiliorem post Domitiani mortem*; cf. 34.3, *intueri delatorum supina ora retortasque cervices*. For *securitas* etc. on the coins, cf. BMCRE III lxvi n. 2, xcvi n. 2; for *felicitas temporum*, cf. *ibid.* cxxxi n. 3, with refs. to Tac. Agr. 3.1, 44.5; Pliny VII 33.9, X 12; Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* I 72. Dio (LII 26.2) makes Maecenas define as one of the duties of a ruler: *μη̄ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὥς ὅτι βέλτιστοι γίγνωνται, προνοεῖν*.

² V 14(15).6, where *honores* may well mean "offices"; cf. 45.2-3.

³ 62, 72.2.

⁴ For the policy of Augustus, cf. Hammond, 121-130; for Cicero, cf. the references in Merguet's *Lexica* under such phrases as *auctoritas, concursus, consensio, consensus, laus, etc. bonorum*. Cf. also the speech of Maecenas in Dio LII 14.5, 15.1, 32.1; Arnold, *op. cit.* in n. 6, 124, 280. For Pliny's recognition of the emperor's real control, cf. refs. in n. 2, 121; CAH XI 417-422, especially 418 n. 1.

⁵ The well known phrase in Dessau, 2927 is *legat. pro pr. provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potesta(t) in eam provinciam e(x s.c. missus ab) imp. caesar. Nerva Traiano aug. german(ico dacico p.p.)*. von Premerstein (236 n. 5) prefers to read Bormann's *(pro)consulari* on the basis of CIL XI 5272, *ex s.c. pro(consule)*, an inscription which is commonly, but not certainly, referred to Pliny. This is not the place to discuss the bearing of this mission of Pliny on the general reduction of the provinces and Italy to equal subjection to the emperor. An early precedent for his mission, however, may be found in

emperor had exercised considerable control over senatorial proconsuls from the time of Augustus and on the other that Pliny had been sent by Trajan, still, his complete dependence upon his superior, his tone throughout his letters to the emperor of a civil servant rather than a representative of the might and majesty of the senate and Roman people is, as has been said, the concrete expression of that recognition of the empire which appears constantly through the republican coloring of the *Panegyric*.¹ All good men work not with, but under the prince. Nevertheless, despite his complaint of the lack of subjects for debate in the senate, Pliny could claim, perhaps with a wish that was father to the thought, that real freedom of discussion had been restored to the senate, even when Trajan presided as consul, and he contrasts this *reducta libertas* to the supineness and limitation under Domitian.² The consuls, as far as the prince was concerned, could be such as consuls had been before the principate and before the Flavians had monopolized the office for themselves.³ Allain argues that Pliny, with clearer insight than Tacitus, realized that this liberty was one of appearance only and consisted chiefly in the check put upon the delators.⁴ But the general tenor of Pliny's

the case of P. Paquius Scaeva, Dessau, 915, *procos. iterum extra sortem auctoritate Aug. Caesaris et s.c. missa* (*sic*, for *missus*) *ad componendum statum in reliquum provinciae Cypri*; cf. Hammond, 59; von Premerstein, 223. That Bithynia-Pontus was not yet surrendered to the emperor by the senate is shown by the occurrence there of senatorial proconsuls into the reign of Marcus (cf. Brandeis in PW III (5) 527-529; CAH XI 468, 575).

¹ For the control of the emperor over the senatorial provinces, cf. Hammond, 54-64; von Premerstein, 231 and index s.v. *imperium proconsulare maius*. That Trajan recognized the responsibility of the senate for its provinces is shown by his refusal to allow the Bithynians to appeal from a decree of the senate to himself (VI 13.2).

² 66.2, on Trajan's consulship, *nunc singulos, nunc universos adhortatus es resumere libertatem, capessere quasi communis imperii curas, etc.* (cf. 76; Dio LII 32.1). For the contrast with Domitian, VIII 14.1-11; the phrase quoted is in § 3. For the lack of real material for debate, III 20.10. On the coins, cf. BMCRE III lxxvii.

³ 93.2, 58.3.

⁴ Allain, I 267-268, citing Tacitus' remark (*Agr.* 3.1) that Nerva united *res olim dissociabiles, principatum ac libertatem* (cf. 34-36, 42).

remarks indicates that he saw in the revival of constitutional monarchy a real restoration of liberty.¹

Pliny, however, knew that the senate fell far below the standard of an ideal governing body.² He condemned the abuse of the newly introduced secret ballot, which many senators took as an opportunity for ill-timed scurrility, and confessed that the only remedy was to turn to the emperor *cui multum cottidie vigiliarum, multum laboris adicit haec nostra iners et tamen effrenata petulantia*.³ Similarly, in a debate in the senate on advocates' fees, the tribune Nigrinus said that the neglect of laws and decrees of the senate on this matter by the senators themselves would require the intervention of the prince himself.⁴ Although Pliny condemned the weakness of the senate under Domitian⁵ and even reached back into Nero's time to hold up to scorn the decrees which the senate had passed in honor of Pallas, he himself admitted that he received his first offices from the hated Domitian.⁶ He related with some pride how he had avoided answering in the senate a question so put as to trap him either into treasonable support of an exile or disloyal condemnation of a friend.⁷ He claimed, however, that in the tyrant's later years he fell into disfavor and only Domitian's death prevented action being taken on information which Carus had laid against him.⁸ This information may have concerned his secret support of the exiled philosopher Artemidorus, for which he takes to himself a good deal of credit.⁹

¹ In 27.1, he says that the Romans can now raise children *in spem libertatis, in spem securitatis*.

² CAH XI 417-418, 746-748; Homo, 427.

³ III 20, IV 25; the lines quoted follow the Greek phrase in n. 2, 121, from IV 25.5. For the *providentia* of Trajan, Mattingly (BMCRE III lxvii) cites X 54, *providentia tua et ministerio nostro*.

⁴ V 13(14).7; cf. n. 5, 131.

⁵ For the condemnation of Domitian, cf. R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps*, Messina, vol. I, 1926, 121; also I 12.8 on Corellius' determination to survive *isti latroni*.

⁶ For the decrees on Pallas, cf. VII 29, VIII 6; for Pliny's *cursus* under Domitian, cf. 95.3.

⁷ I 5.5-7.

⁸ VII 27.14, where he relates certain miraculous visions which forewarned him that he would be safe. Cf. 95.4, *in quantum invisus pessimo* (i.e. *principi*) *fui*.

⁹ III 11.2-3.

But it is likely that he owed his safety to disregard on the part of Domitian and that, despite his admiration for the outspoken but futile intransigence of Helvidius Priscus and his ilk and his prosecution of the informer Certus, he belonged to that group of whom he says that they were politic and wise who passed their lives inconspicuously.¹ It was this attitude which Tacitus also praised in Agricola.²

In his views on the relation between the individual and the state, Pliny simply reflects the aristocratic tradition of the city-state.³ The value of individuals in public affairs should be weighed, not simply counted; for nothing is so unequal as equality where differences of ability exist.⁴ And the value depends not only upon *sapientia* but upon *census*.⁵ Interesting in this connection is the argument advanced by certain towns in Bithynia which wished, contrary to the law, to enroll in their local senates men who were under thirty and had not held any office. The towns argued that men might hold office at twenty-five and would then automatically enter the senate. Even, therefore, in the case of those who had not held office, twenty-five appeared a reasonable age for enrollment: *quia sit aliquanto melius honestorum hominum liberos quam e plebe in curiam admitti*. Pliny apparently thought that there was enough validity to their argument for it to be referred to Trajan, but the emperor refused on the ground that an edict of Augustus granted the reduction of age only to office-holders.⁶ In a similar strain, though in reference to literary judgments, Pliny stated:

¹ VII 30.5, IX 13. The paraphrase is from 44.5, *nec iam* (i.e. under Trajan) *consideratus et sapiens, qui aetatem in tenebris agit*.

² Agr. 42.4. Tacitus exclaims against the share which the senate took in Domitian's executions (Agr. 45.1-2).

³ J. Giesen, *Zur Charakteristik des jüngeren Plinius*, Bonn, 1885, 15-16.

⁴ Generalized from II 12.5, on voting in the senate (cf. IX 5.3, quoted below, n. 2, 138; Dio LII 13). Church and Brodribb (41) reflect the temper of a similar age in their comment: "The sensible Roman saw clearly through the specious fallacy of 'universal suffrage.'"

⁵ *Sapientia*, II 12.5; *census*, I 13.9. M. Gelzer, *Hermes* L (1915), 412-413, cites Porcius Latro in Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* II 1.17 on *census* as a discrimination between ranks. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the importance of wealth for determining political privilege both in Athens and in Rome.

⁶ X 79(83)-80(84); the quotation is from X 79.3.

ego enim non populum advocare, sed certos electosque soleo, quos intuear, quibus credam, quos denique et tamquam singulos observem et tamquam non singulos timeam.¹

In another letter he inveighed against the superficiality of popular judgments:

est omnino iniquom, sed usu receptum, quod honesta consilia vel turpia, prout male aut prospere cedunt, ita vel probantur vel reprehenduntur. inde plerumque eadem facta modo diligentiae, modo vanitatis, modo libertatis, modo furoris nomen accipiunt.²

The aristocrat owes certain obligations to the state in return for his privileged position. When Pliny complained to Euphrates that his duties as *praefectus aerarii Saturni* kept him from his studies, the philosopher replied:

etiam esse hanc philosophiae et quidem pulcherrimam partem, agere negotium publicum, cognoscere, iudicare, promere et exercere iustitiam, quaeque ipsi (i.e. philosophi) doceant, in usu habere.³

For such public service one should expect no reward save the applause of one's peers.⁴ Although the old prejudice against taking pay for acting as an advocate either in the court or before the senate had partly broken down, Pliny prided himself on having refused all gifts, not because of the laws against accepting them but through his inner self-respect: *oportet quidem, quae sunt inhonesta, non quasi inlicita, sed quasi pudenda vitare*.⁵ This prohibition also applied

¹ VII 17.12.

² V 9.7.

³ I 10.10. E. T. Merrill (*Select Letters of the Younger Pliny*, London, 1903, 187 n. on *officio*) identifies the office as *praef. aer. Sat.* The phrases would equally suggest the praetorship, were it not that elsewhere Pliny mentions only the games which he gave (VII 11.4) and his modesty (95.1), so that Mommsen (62) argued that for him, as for Agricola (Tac. Agr. 6.4), the praetorship was an empty honor under Domitian.

⁴ III 9.23, on his prosecution of Caecilius, *constantia nostra plenissimo testimonio* (i.e. of the senate) *comprobata est, dignum solumque par pretium tanti laboris*. Pliny did not see that the lack of pay led to the evils of the republican administration. Augustus established pay for the provincial and imperial posts (Hammond, 192-194).

⁵ V 13(14).9. In this letter, the senate on the whole recognizes that pay is proper if the advocate does his job. A tribune, however, protested against the

to provincial magistrates, though Pliny defended Bassus for having accepted a gift in innocence and calls the act *facto vetito quidem, non tamen inusitato*.¹ He furthermore abstained from pleading cases at all while he was in public office.² He commends Trebonius Rufus in a hearing before the emperor *quod tamquam homo Romanus et bonus civis in negotio suo mature et graviter loquebatur*.³ In private life, however, the aristocrat may relax and indulge in jollity and light verse.⁴ In general, Pliny's respect for the senate and magistrates accords well with Duff's summary of their status: "The senate remained by conservative tradition a dignified caste in command of social prestige. There was at least an attempted resuscitation of bygone glory."⁵

Another obligation which Pliny felt strongly was that which lay upon the wealthy to contribute of their means for the good of the state:

sed oportet privatis utilitatibus publicas, mortalibus aeternas anteferre, multoque diligentius muneri suo consulere quam facultatibus.⁶

Generosity rescues one from the avarice common to mankind. Yet it should not be impulsive or devoted to self-glorification, but deliberate and directed towards utility. The reward of uprightness (*honestas*) lies in good conscience (*conscientia*), not in fame; for glory should follow one's acts, not be sought by them. Pliny therefore gave to Comum an endowment not for games but for the support

custom, which violated laws and decrees, and an appeal was made to Trajan. Pliny does not give his reply. Cf. V 4, where the Vicetini purchase support in the senate; V 9 (21), on an edict of the praetor Nepos, who protested against the practice in court but allowed a gift of 10,000 HS after the case; VI 23, a joking reference; Solimena, 267 n. 1.

¹ IV 9.17, Bassus got off lightly.

² I 23, on the tribunate; X 3a(21)–3b(22), on the exception which he made at the request of the senate and with Trajan's approval to prosecute Marius Priscus while he himself was *praef. aer. Sat.*

³ IV 22.2.

⁴ V 3; cf. IV 3 on Arrius Antonius, at once a distinguished public figure and an excellent writer of Greek verses; III 21.5, quoting Martial's verses to Pliny = Martial X 20(19).12–21.

⁵ J. W. Duff in CAH XI 748.

⁶ VII 18.5.

of orphans.¹ And it is unnecessary to review the many other ways in which Pliny lived up to this obligation.²

Though in general Pliny felt that the active life was more becoming to a Roman than the contemplative, he is not always consistent. He congratulated Pomponius Bassus on enjoying wisely in his old age the leisure which he had earned by a long public life.³ He praised Silius Italicus because, although he had undertaken accusations in the time of Nero, he had been a wise friend to Vitellius, he had gained glory as proconsul of Asia, and, most important, he had wiped out the stain of his former informing by laudable leisure.⁴ Pliny felt that Arrianus Maturus lacked ambition because he preferred to remain an equestrian when he might easily have advanced further, but he respects his excellent character and influence as the leading citizen (*princeps*) in Altinum.⁵ On the other hand, he did not condemn Terentius Junior because, after having served his *equestris militia* and become procurator of Narbonnese Gaul, he withdrew to his country estates and preferred tranquil leisure to a public career.⁶ He was redeemed in Pliny's eyes by his learning, which was so high that Pliny respected his judgment as much as that of more citified scholars. Thus, though Pliny on the whole preferred

¹ Paraphrased from Pliny's summary of his speech to the senate of Comum on the occasion of his gift (I 8.8-18). He remarks (§ 17) that he did not address the populace, *ad quos ex munere nostro nihil pertinet praeter exemplum*, so as not to seem to glorify himself.

² Mommsen 75-78.

³ IV 23.

⁴ III 7.3, *maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat*. He was among the *principes civitatis* and devoted his leisure to literary, not political, pursuits.

⁵ III 2. Tacitus (*Ann.* XVI 17.3) says of Lucan's father, Annaeus Mela, *petitione honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram* (= "eccentric," Furneaux *ad loc.*) *ut eques Romanus consularibus potentia aequaretur*; cf. *Hist.* II 86, on Cornelius Fuscus, who *prima iuventa quietis cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat*; Grotius emended *quietis* to *quaestus*.

⁶ VII 25.2, *paratisque honoribus tranquillissimum otium praetulit*. Since the initial offices indicate that Terentius was destined for an imperial equestrian career, not a senatorial one, it is interesting to find *honoribus* used of such posts as well as of the republican magistracies. A. Gwynn (*Roman Education*, Oxford, 1926, 130-137) has an interesting discussion of this and similar passages, e.g. VII 22.2, on Cornelius Minicianus, *amat studia, ut solent pauperes*. He connects the rather self-conscious pursuit of learning in the Flavian period with the emergence of an upper class of self-made men.

the life of public service, he admired leisure devoted to letters as well, and he concluded that the happiest man is the one who achieves distinction in both lines, like his uncle, Pliny the Elder.¹

Despite the force of the aristocratic tradition, Pliny also reflects something of the more humane and broader point of view which characterized the second century. Although the *civitas Romana*, even if chiefly represented by the worthless urban proletariat, still commanded respect and was extended almost as carefully as during the Julio-Claudian period,² Pliny's letters to Trajan include several requests for grants of citizenship to freedmen or *peregrini*, and the names indicate that in most cases the recipients were of eastern origin.³ Nor did the emperor refuse these requests. Pliny also complimented Trajan because he allowed those who were newly granted the Roman citizenship to acquire also the full rights of family relationship, so important for inheritance, of which they apparently had previously been denied, perhaps in virtue of the Augustan legislation on the subject.⁴ Pliny regarded the raising of children as one of the first duties of a citizen, so that he naturally applauded anything which would encourage propagation in an age when the rewards of childlessness made even a single offspring unwelcome to most.⁵ He himself had married two or three times but, as he says with somewhat fulsome flattery when Trajan granted him the *ius trium liberorum*,

di melius, qui omnia integra bonitati tuae reservarunt; malui hoc potius tempore me patrem fieri, quo futurus essem et securus et felix.⁶

¹ VI 16.3, *equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero, quibus utrumque.*

² 25.5, *omni ope adniti, ne quis e plebe Romana, dante congiarium te* (i.e. Trajan), *hominem se magis sentiret fuisse quam civem.* Cf. CAH XI 447; Rostovtzeff, 106; Homo, 433-434.

³ X 5(4), 6(22), 7(27), 10(5) all deal with the Egyptian physician Harpocras for whom Pliny secured from Trajan both Roman and Alexandrian citizenship. X 5(4).2, 11(6), 104(105)-105(106) deal with a variety of cases, mostly with Greek names. X 106(107)-107(108), however, deals with the daughter of a Roman centurion. Cf. Solimena, 62-67; J. Meyer, *Der Briefwechsel des Plinius und Traian*, Strassburg, 1908, 44-47.

⁴ 37-39; cf. Solimena, 63, 65.

⁵ IV 15.3 on Asinius Rufus; 27-28.

⁶ X 2.3; cf. 27.1 in n. 1, 129. Schanz-Hosius (657 n. 2) state that the number of his marriages is uncertain but the general opinion inclines to three.

Pliny also shows a markedly more humanitarian attitude towards freedmen and slaves than does, for instance, Tacitus.¹ He took the greatest care of his consumptive freedman Zosimus.² He left a sum to Comum to be devoted first to the support of his freedmen and only thereafter to banquets for the populace.³ He criticized a miserly host who served different grades of wine to his distinguished guests, to his lesser friends, and to freedmen.⁴ On the other hand, he blamed a *parvenu* who, too vividly conscious of his father's servile origin, treated his own slaves so harshly that they murdered him.⁵ Moreover, though in this same letter he expressed fears of a servile revolt, he was generally most considerate of his slaves.⁶ He rejoiced that a friend freed some worthy slaves to increase the number of citizens and to be *oppidis firmissimum ornamentum*.⁷ When grieving over the early death of some slaves he consoled himself with two thoughts, that he had already manumitted them, *videor enim non omnino immaturos perdidisse quos iam liberos perdidit*, and that though their wills were not valid at law he had fulfilled them as if they had been, *nam servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est*.⁸ Yet he can say in another letter that though slaves and freemen get equally sick, doctors give freemen the better treatment.⁹

¹ But cf. 88.1, *plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi*; cf. CAH XI 759. For Tacitus' scorn of freedmen, cf. *Ann.* XII 60.6; for their power under Claudius, which Nero criticized in his inaugural address, cf. XIII 4.2, *discretam domum et rem publicam*; for a debate on the frauds of freedmen, cf. XIII 26-27. In *Ann.* XV 57, however, he praises the constancy of the freedwoman Epicharis during the Pisonian prosecutions. *Ann.* XIV 39 condemns the haughtiness of Polyclitus in Britain in terms which recall the contrast drawn in *Germ.* 25.3 between their position among the Germans and among the Romans. In *Hist.* I 76, he says that during the troubles of 68-69, even freedmen took part in the affairs of state. Both Tacitus (index s.v., especially *Ann.* XIII 14.1-2) and Pliny (VII 29, VIII 6) condemn the arrogant Pallas.

² V 19; cf. CAH XI 758.

³ Dessau, 2927 v. 11.

⁴ II 6; cf. Solimena, 55.

⁵ III 14; cf. the account in Tac. *Ann.* XIV 42-45 of how in a similar case the senate's decision to execute the slaves of a murdered master aroused intense popular opposition.

⁶ CAH XI 756-757, citing II 17.24, where Pliny says that his study is secluded enough so that his slaves can enjoy the *Saturnalia* without disturbing him.

⁷ VII 16, 23, 32; the quotation is from VII 32.1.

⁸ VIII 16.1-2.

⁹ VIII 24.5.

Pliny, moreover, though still conscious of the superiority of the Italians to the rest of the world, is far more "imperial" in his point of view than Tacitus.¹ He welcomed, as has been said, increasing the number of privileged citizens by the admission of Latins or by manumission. He took as lively an interest in the affairs of the Italian towns, especially of course Comum, as had Cicero during his absences in those of Rome.² He especially extolled Trajan for nurturing and watching over Egypt, separated though it was by vast oceans, as if it were part of the Roman *populus* and *plebs*. From Trajan's care for the empire, all may learn that it is better to serve one man than to strive for liberty and attain only discord. When the advantages of each are separate, everyone also suffers his own misfortunes but when all share in common, each assists the other, so that advantages benefit all and no one suffers.³ Pliny here put his finger on the fallacy of selfish nationalism which masquerades under the fair names of patriotism and liberty and which proved the curse of ancient Greece as it is likely to do of modern Europe. On the other side, imperialism laid upon Rome, as upon the emperor, the obligation to be a model for the rest of the world. In commending the suppression of gladiatorial combats at Vienne, Pliny concluded that they might well be abolished at Rome as well:

nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos residunt, nostra late vagantur, utque in corporibus, sic in imperio gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur.⁴

¹ Solimena (223) cites IV 7.2, *per totam Italiam provinciasque*, and IX 23.2, *Italicus es an provincialis*, for the distinction between Italians and provincials. For Tacitus (*Ann.* IV 3.4) Livilla's adultery with Sejanus was no less shameful than sinful, *seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat*; cf. the conservative opposition to Claudius' admission of the Gauls to the senate (*Ann.* XI 23).

² Solimena (223-229) gives a full list of references; cf. Mommsen, 74-78.

³ 32.1-3, paraphrased. The phrase on unity is *quanto libertati discordi servientibus sit utilius unum esse, cui serviant*. von Premerstein (123), in his discussion of the principate as a *cura et tutela rei publicae*, quotes Pliny's adulatory letters (X 52(60), 102(103)) to Trajan on the observance of his *dies imperii*, which speak of the *tutela et securitas generis humani* as dependent on the emperor's well-being.

⁴ IV 22.7; CAH XI 768; Gwynn, *op. cit.* above n. 6, 133. Merejkowski (translated by G. A. Mounsey, *The Life-work of Pliny the Younger*, London,

It has already been remarked that Pliny preferred to endow *alimenta* at Comum instead of games.¹ Although the same humanitarian attitude towards such spectacles and their effect on the spectators appears also in the emperor Marcus, it was not until Christianity had become fully established that they could be abolished.²

Pliny showed an interest in provincial affairs long before his appointment as governor of Bithynia. He wrote to a friend: *vides, quam obsequenter paream tibi, qui non solum res urbanas, verum etiam peregrinas tam sedulo scribo, ut altius repetam*.³ He praised Trajan because by recognizing merit he encouraged good government in the provinces.⁴ Though he disliked undertaking prosecutions before the senate because of the unpopularity which he might incur, he conducted several such prosecutions at the request of provincials.⁵ Among his letters are two of advice to newly appointed governors, Maximus, who was sent on a special mission to study the cities of Achaëa, and Calestrius Tiro, appointed to Bithynia.⁶ Both make

no date [1934 ?], 17-18) comments sentimentally: "Pliny, a moderately good and intelligent citizen of pagan Rome, was all unconsciously a Christian."

¹ I 8.10. He says in another letter (IX 6) that he preferred his studies to the circus races where popular favor followed no rational preference but only the color of a tunic. So Marcus (*Med.* I 5) expresses his gratitude to his tutor for teaching him to avoid such irrational partisanship.

² Marcus would read while at the circus-games (*Script. Hist. Aug., Marc.* 15.1, cf. P. R. Wilson, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, New York, 1884, 127-129). Constantine sought to abolish the gladiatorial games but the final legislation came under Honorius (*PW Suppl.* III s.v. *gladiatores* 771-772). Cf. *CAH* XI 768 for Seneca's condemnation of gladiatorial games.

³ IV 11.15, on Licinianus, who had become a professor in Sicily.

⁴ 70; cf. VIII 24.8, *testimonium principis* . . . *haec ipsa legatio quasi praemium data*. Walton (*op. cit.* n. 2, 117, 60 n. 2) claims that Pliny failed to see how greatly the provinces had increased in importance in the eyes of the government.

⁵ Solimena, 253-259; Mommsen, 12 and 79. Pliny lists the cases in VI 29.8-11: against Baebius Massa, procurator of Baetica; against Caecilius Classicus, proconsul of Baetica; against Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa; for Julius Bassus and for Varenus Rufus, both proconsuls of Bithynia. For a dating of the defenses of Bassus and Varenus in 100 and 102 respectively, cf. von Premerstein, *op. cit.* in n. 2, 117, 72-86. Pliny mentions the invidiousness of prosecutions in III 4.8, 9.26. Cf. also *CAH* XI 204.

⁶ Maximus, VIII 24; the identification of this Maximus with a certain Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus is made by E. Groag in *PW* XIV(28) 2540 s.v.

the same points; a Roman official should not be too autocratic because affection will succeed better than fear.¹ On the other hand, a governor should not be too humble and sordid but should maintain the dignity of his position. He should administer justice tempered with humanity and he should preserve the distinctions of rank among the provincials, *quae si confusa, turbata, permixta sunt, nihil est ipsa aequalitate inaequalius*.² Pliny himself as governor of Bithynia was "a flexible disciplinarian."³ Throughout his correspondence with Trajan, in spite of his lack of initiative, he urged the claims of equity. Trajan, though a more rigorous interpreter of the law, accepted the more lenient view when the law allowed.⁴ Pliny recognized a law of nature higher than human regulations:

intuitus, opinor, vim legemque naturae, quae semper in dicione parentum esse liberos iussit nec uti inter pecudes, sic inter homines potestatem et imperium valentioribus dedit.⁵

One of the rights which the law of nature guarantees, he wrote in connection with the free cities of Achaea, is freedom. His friend, their future governor, is going *ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos, qui ius a natura datum virtute . . . tenuerunt*.⁶

Pliny, therefore, speaking for the cultivated opinion of his day,

Maximus 2 with a reference to his article cited in n. 8. Tiro, IX 5; PW III(5) 1352 s.v. Calestrius 2.

¹ Cf. 45.6, *quippe infidelis recti magister est metus*, and n. 1, 125, above.

² IX 5.3; cf. II 12.5, *nihil est tam inaequale quam aequalitas ipsa*, translated above, p. 130. Cf. Solimena, 55; Allain, I 133-134. The latter sees in these letters an example of the way in which cultivated opinion, even apart from the Stoic ideologues, blamed equally the haughty nobles of the plundering republic and the demagogic emperors and represented a compromise between aristocracy and internationalism.

³ R. P. Longden, CAH XI 218.

⁴ In the matter of admission to municipal senates (X 79(83)-80(84)) Trajan abode by the strict law, though Pliny, as has been said, seems to incline to the argument of the Bithynians (above p. 130). Similarly Trajan, to modern minds unreasonably, refused Pliny's request that the people of Nicomedia should organize a volunteer fire-department because it might become a dangerous political club (X 33(42)-34(43)). In the cases of the *θρηνοί* (X 65(71)-66(72)) and the Christians (X 96(97)-97(98)), equity prevails.

⁵ 38.7.

⁶ VIII 24.2.

reflects to a large degree the political ideas which are more thoughtfully expressed by the philosophers of the second century. These, however, he tempers with an aristocratic bias inherent both in earlier political thought and in the Roman tradition. It may be a sign of stagnation in society when the thinkers are no longer "advanced" and when the conservative "accepted" opinions of society as a whole catch up on them. Such a condition leads to a sense of self-satisfaction which is entirely opposite to the "divine discontent" of creative thought. And this self-satisfaction characterizes Roman literature from Pliny to Sidonius Apollinaris. Nevertheless, the opinions which have been collected from Pliny and the political ideals from which they derive are ones which may have contributed as much as did material progress and economic prosperity to the success of the Antonine rulers and the contentment of their subjects. That the prince should rule because he is qualified to rule and because all classes accept him and not by the accident of birth or through the army's violence, that he should be guided not by his own desires but by a sense of service, that he should be an example worthy of imitation, all these are certainly commendable attributes for the head of a state. That the senatorial class should have abandoned its hostility to the principate without surrendering the traditions of *noblesse oblige* and of liberty inherited from the republic represents a happy compromise. That the narrow aristocratic prejudices against aliens and slaves were being tempered by international and humanitarian concepts may have been a sign of levelling down rather than of levelling up, yet the loosening of restrictions of caste and the transcending of national frontiers are also characteristic of ethical, social, and political advance. It may be true that the good emperors were followed by the military anarchy and this by the oriental despotism,¹ that the senate never really regained its liberty of action but rather became more and more a mirror to reflect the emperor's wishes, that Pliny's boasted interest in literature and philosophy left him blind to the significant movements of his time, such as Christianity. Nevertheless an age as unsettled as the present may well look with envy on the *pax Romana* and ponder the breadth of interest, the kindliness of spirit, and the ideals of government of those who, like Pliny, worked

¹ The terms, and criticisms, are Rostovtzeff's.

for that peace. Pliny was neither so great nor so well-rounded as Cicero or even Horace; in particular he lacked a sense of humor.¹ But for all his stiffness, his self-importance, his "mid-Victorianism," he had many of the traits which may be included under the term *humanitas*. In particular, his political thought, that of the Antonine age, is "humane" rather than sentimentally "humanitarian." It based the state not upon the lowest common denominator of all men but upon the best characteristics and individuals.

¹ Cf. E. K. Rand, "Horace and the Spirit of Comedy," *Rice Institute Pamphlet* XXIV 2 (Apr. 1937), Houston, Texas. 39-91.

LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN*

BY PAUL J. ALEXANDER

THE Emperor Hadrian is generally credited with having been the best of the "Five Good Emperors." The literary sources at our disposal for his reign, however, are particularly scanty; of the sixty-ninth book of Cassius Dio only an epitome is preserved, and the Emperor's biography by the writers of the *Historia Augusta*, though much more reliable than those of the later Emperors from Severus on, cannot make up for the lack of a contemporary account of his reign. Thus an examination of his extant letters and speeches may enable us to learn more about the man, the administrator, and the ruler.

The letters and speeches were not collected during antiquity. Not even a group of letters has been as fortunate as those of his predecessor Trajan, which have come down to us with the correspondence of one of his friends and officials, the younger Pliny. A few documents only are given in our literary sources. But since either they can be shown to be spurious,¹ or they cannot be proved to be genuine,² or, at least, since their present form is due to a transposition of the original into the author's own style, according to the rules of ancient historiography,³ these and other documents contained in our literary sources will not be discussed in the present paper.

The genuine letters and fragments which we possess are scat-

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¹ For instance in the case of the letter to Servianus, *Hist. Aug., Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus*, 8.

² For instance in the case of his letter to Minutius Fundanus concerning the Christians, Justin Martyr, *First Apology* I 68.

³ As in the case of Hadrian's speech to the "most prominent and respected of the senators," in 138 A.D., after the death of L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom. LXIX* (Epitome) 20.

tered all through the collections of inscriptions and papyri and through the legal writings and compilations. Several attempts have been made to catalogue them. Lafoscade ¹ listed part of them, but his collection was incomplete even for the time of its publication and is still more so today. A list by Vaglieri ² is confined to inscriptions and gives practically all the inscriptions of the period, not only those emanating from the Imperial Chancery. Finally, a list by von Rohden ³ needs to be completed by more recent evidence. None of these lists has taken into account one of the most important sources, the legal compilations.⁴ This paper will attempt to assemble by no means all, but the more important documents issued by the Imperial Chancery and the speeches made by the Emperor.⁵ A detailed study of the documents mentioned will be impossible; an attempt will be made, however, to bring into relief the leading ideas which inspired the imperial acts of Hadrian.

I

Soon after Hadrian had been proclaimed Emperor, embassies from a number of important cities arrived to congratulate him. The answers of the Emperor to three cities are preserved. In 117/118 A.D. he writes to the archons, senate and people of Astypalaea:

From your ambassador Petronius Herakon and from your enactment I have learned that you were glad at my taking over the paternal rule. I praise you for that. . . .⁶

¹ L. Lafoscade, *De Epistulis (aliisque titulis) Imperatorum Magistratuumque Romanorum etc.*, Lille, 1902, 9-18.

² D. Vaglieri, "Hadrianus," E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, III (Spoleto, 1910) 607-640.

³ P. von Rohden, "Aelius 64," *RE* I 494-496.

⁴ The fragments of imperial documents preserved in the legal writings with the exception of Justinian's *Codex* are most conveniently collected by G. Haenel, *Corpus Legum ab Imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum Latinarum etc.*, Leipzig, 1857. For Hadrian see 85-101.

⁵ Occasionally, a document will be quoted which, though not emanating from the Imperial Chancery, is connected with such a document or illustrates the problems discussed in an imperial document.

⁶ Lafoscade *De Epistulis* 16: ⁶[Καὶ πα]ρὰ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ ὑμῶν Πε[τρωνίου τοῦ]/⁷[Ἡράκω]ντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος[ος ὑμῶν]/⁸[ἐμαθον] ὅπως ἤσθητε διαδεξαμέ-

In November 117 A.D., a similar letter is addressed συνόδῳ τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ νέων:

When I learned from your letter and from your ambassador Claudius Cyrus that you have expressed yourselves as sharing feelings of joy on our behalf, I thought it a proof of your being good men. Farewell.¹

Finally, Delphi had sent a congratulatory embassy, and the Emperor answered in 118 A.D. Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει by praising it as ancient and noble (ἡ ἀρχαιότης καὶ ἡ εὐγένεια τῆς πόλεως). After a gap the inscription continues as follows:

. . . and not least because you openly showed your zeal by rejoicing at my accession to the rule and by invoking the Pythian God Apollo to bless me. . . . I confirm your liberty and your autonomy and all the gifts granted to you of old, particularly those granted by the divine Trajan, etc.²

Astypalaea, Pergamon, and Delphi were not the only cities to honor the new ruler; a particularly revealing text is preserved in *P. Giss.* 3. Shortly after October 117, the consecration of the deceased Emperor Trajan and the accession of his successor were celebrated at *Heptakomia*, the metropolis of the Egyptian nome *Apollonopolites*. The papyrus seems to be an official draft for the celebration. Phoebus himself appears on the stage and proclaims in highly poetic language:

Having just mounted aloft with Trajan in my chariot of white horses, I come to you, oh people, I, Phoebus, by no means an unknown god, to proclaim the new ruler Hadrian, whom all things serve on account of his virtue and the genius of his divine father.

The *Demos* answers:

Let us make merry, let us kindle our hearths in sacrifice, let us surrender our souls to laughter, to the wine of the fountains and the unguents of the

ν[ου ἐμοῦ]/⁹[τὴν πατ]ρῶαν ἀρχήν, ἐπαιέσας δ[ὲ ὑμᾶς]/¹⁰[καὶ πεποι]θῶς (?) τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑ[μῶν . . .]

¹ Lafoscade *De Epistulis* 17: ⁹Ἐπιγνοὺς ἔκ τε τῶν γραμμά/-¹⁰των καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύον/- ¹¹τος Κλαυδίου Κύρου τὴν χα/-¹²ράν, ὅσης ἐφ' ἡμεῖν ὠμολογεῖ/-¹³τε μετετλη-φέναι, ἡγούμην/¹⁴ σημεῖα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν/¹⁵τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι. ¹⁶Εὐτυχεῖτε.

² Ae. Bourguet, *De Rebus Delphicis Imperatoriae Aetatis etc.*, Montpellier, 1905, 72-73: ⁶οὐχ ἥ[κιστα] δὲ ὅτι φανεράν [ἀπεδείξασθε τὴν προθυ]/-⁷[μίαν ὑμῶν συνηδόμ]ενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διαδέξ[ασθαί με τὴν ἀρχήν, περὶ]/⁸δὲ θεὸν Ἄ[πόλλωνα Πύθιον] ἀγαθὰ παρακαλοῦντ[ες τὴν]/⁹τε ἐλευθ[ερίαν καὶ τὴν αὐ]τονομίαν καὶ τ[ὰς ὑμῖν

gymnasia; for all of which we are indebted to the reverence of our strategos for our lord (*viz.* Hadrian) and his zeal on our behalf.¹

This pageant was doubtless officially inspired; the scene which it represents is therefore doubly interesting. It may be added that the particular emphasis on Hadrian's *father* Trajan possibly pleased the Emperor more than it would seem at a first glance;² rumors that the adoption of Hadrian by his predecessor had never occurred had spread all over the Empire.³

II

Yet more than kind words and liberal distribution of drinks was demanded of Hadrian at his accession. Four generals of Trajan, dissatisfied with the peaceful methods of their new master, were charged by the Senate with plotting against the Emperor and

ἀεὶ συγχωρούμενας]/¹⁰ δωρεὰς [βεβαιῶ καὶ ἅπαν]τα καὶ ὑπὸ το[ῦ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ δοθέντα]./¹¹κτλ.

¹ L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. I. *Historischer Teil*. 2. *Chrestomathie* (Leipzig, 1912) 491. Cf. E. Kornemann, "Ἀναξ καινὸς Ἀδριανός," *Klio* VII (1907) 278-288; R. Reitzenstein, "Zu Horaz," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* XXI (1908) 365-367; U. Wilcken *Archiv für Papyrusforschung etc.* V (1909) 249-250. — The god speaks of himself as οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεός (cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos etc.*, Leipzig - Berlin, 1923, 1-124) because *Apollo* could not be unknown to the inhabitants of the nome *Apollonopolites*. — Kornemann Ἀναξ 286 comforts us by pointing out that the "fountain" was an artificial one which poured wine and beer. — Here is the text of the papyrus ¹(Phoebus:) Ἀρματι λευκοπώλωι ἄρτι Τραϊαν[ῶι]/²συγνατείλας ἤκω σοι, ὦ Δῆμ[ε],/³οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεὸς ἀνα-/⁴κτα καινὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἀγγελῶ[ν],/⁵ὦ πάνα δούλα [δι'] ἀρετὴν κ[αί]/⁶πατρὸς τύχην θεοῦ. (Demos:) Χαίροντες/⁷τοιγαροῦν θύοντες τὰς ἐστίας/⁸ἀνάπτωμεν, γέλωσι καὶ μέ-/⁹θαις ταῖς ἀπὸ κρήνης τὰς ψυχὰς ¹⁰ἀνέντες γυμνασίῳ τε ἀλείμ-/¹¹μασι. ὦν πάντων χορηγὸν τὸ/¹²πρὸς τὸν κύριον εὐσεβὲς τοῦ στρα-/¹³τηγοῦ [[καί]] φιλότιμόν τε τὸ πρὸς ¹⁴[ἡμᾶς . . .]

² Kornemann Ἀναξ 284.

³ Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 1.4; *Hist. Aug. Hadrian* 4.10. Cf. B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, London, 1923, 34-38; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*, Leipzig, 1907, 37-47; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, II (Stuttgart, 1933) 41; W. Weber, "Hadrian," *Cambridge Ancient History* XI (Cambridge, 1936) 300.

were put to the sword. The execution of these four *consulares*,¹ even if carried out without Hadrian's assent or against his will, made him highly unpopular with many people and particularly with the army. Thus we find Hadrian bestowing favors on his troops in a series of documents to be discussed in this section.

In the tense atmosphere created by the alleged plot of the *consulares* and its consequences, one of Trajan's most trusted generals, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, had died in Dacia during the spring 118 A.D.² Hadrian, wishing to show that he was willing to honor those generals of his predecessor who were loyal towards himself, granted a public funeral of extraordinary solemnity: Bassus' body was carried from Dacia to his native city of Pergamon by the *centurio primipilarius* Capito and his soldiers; by special order of Hadrian, the cities all along the road sent out their magistrates to accompany the funeral procession, and finally a tomb was erected at the expense of the *fiscus*.

But the Emperor was not only interested in his generals: he was even more concerned to win the favor of the rank and file. In this connection a letter of Hadrian to Q. Rammius Martialis, prefect of Egypt from 117-119 A.D., is interesting. Soldiers were not allowed to marry until the time of Septimius Severus, and the offspring of their unions was considered illegitimate. Here, Hadrian took an important step which was to pave the way for the reforms of Septimius Severus. In 119 A.D. he writes:

I know, my Rammius, that children who have been recognized by their father during the course of his military service are prevented from access to their father's property; that did not appear harsh since he acted contrary to his military discipline. With great pleasure, however, I myself offer an opportunity of interpreting the somewhat too severe measures of the emperors before me in a more humane way. Though the persons recognized during the military service are not the legitimate heirs of their father, nevertheless I decide that they, too, can demand the *bonorum possessio* on the basis of

¹ Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 2.5; *Hist. Aug. Hadrian* 7. Cf. Henderson *Hadrian* 47-50; Weber *Untersuchungen* 76-81; Weber, "Hadrian," *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* XI 303.

² See the inscription published by Th. Wiegand, "Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1932, 39-42 and discussed by W. Weber, *ibidem*, 57-95.

that part of the edict where it is granted to the *cognati*. You will have to make this grant known both to my soldiers and to my veterans, not as if I wished to appear yielding to them, but that they may make use of it in case they do not know it already.¹

We do not know whether this measure was taken with respect only to Egyptian soldiers or whether similar letters were sent out to the rest of the Empire. What interests us more than the mere facts are some *obiter dicta*. Although he insists on military discipline, the Emperor thinks that the measures taken by his predecessors were too harsh. He prides himself on being more humane; and though he emphasizes that he does not wish to appear yielding in the face of pressure from his troops, we have good reasons to doubt such a statement shortly after the execution of the four *consulares*.

But things quieted down, and Hadrian's popularity with the troops was soon firmly established. The rest of his letters, as far as they are concerned with the army, assume more or less of a routine character. Among them the military *diplomata* should be mentioned.² These are excerpts from larger documents granting the privileges of *honesta missio* to soldiers who had completed their service. The formula of Hadrian is the same as that of his predecessor: the recipients are granted Roman citizenship for themselves and their descendants; their previous unions are made *matrimonia* with all the consequences attached to such by Roman Law; and if they are bachelors, they are free to marry — "but only one at

¹ Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie*, II. *Juristischer Teil*. 2. *Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1912, 373: ¹⁰Ἐπ[σ]ταμαί, Ῥάμμιέ μου, τ[ο]ύτους, ο[ὗ]ς οἱ ¹¹γονεῖς αὐτῶν τῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀνεί- ¹²λα[ν]το χρόνῳ, τὴν πρὸς τὰ πατρικὰ/ ¹³ὑπάρ[χοντα] πρόσδοτον κεκωλύσθαι, ¹⁴κα[τ]οῦτο οὐκ ἐδόκει σκληρόν εἶ[ναι], ¹⁵τ[οῦν]-αντίον αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιω[τικῆ]ς/ ¹⁶διδά[χης] πεποιηκότων. Ἡδιστα δὲ ¹⁷αὐτὸς προ-εῖναι (r. προίεμαι) τὰς ἀφορμὰς δι' ὧν ¹⁸τὸ αὐστηρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ/ ¹⁹Αυτοκρατόρων σταθὲν φιλανθρωπό- ²⁰τερ[ον] ἐρμηνεύω. Ὅνπερ τοιγαροῦν/ ²¹τ[ρόπ]ον οὐκ εἰσιν νόμιμοι κληρο- ²²νόμοι τῶν ἐαυτῶν πατέρων οἱ τῷ ²³τῆς στρατείας χρόνῳ ἀναλ[η]ψθέν- ²⁴τες, ὅμως κατ[ο]χῇ ²⁵ὑ[πα]ρχόντων/ ²⁶ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέ[ρ]ους τοῦ διατάγ-μα- ²⁷τος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς [γ]ένους συγγενέσι/ ²⁸δοῖται, αἰτεῖσθαι δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς/ ²⁹κρε[ῖν]ω. Ταύτην μου τὴν δωρεάν/ ³⁰καὶ στρατιώταις ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῖς οὐ- ³¹τρανοῖς εὐ-γνωστόν σε ποιῆσαι δεή- ³²σαι, οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ δοκεῖν με αὐτοῖς/ ³³ἐνλογεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τοῦτω χρῶνται, ³⁴ἐὰν ἀγνοῶσι.

² CIL XVI 66-86. — Cf. F. Lammert, "Militärdiplome," *RE* XXX 1666-1668 and "Missio," *RE* XXX 2052-2053.

a time" (*dumtaxat singuli singulas*), as the formula judiciously adds.

If the expectation of well-deserved rewards after the completion of service was a powerful stimulus to the soldiers, the Emperor's constant inspections of the troops, his criticisms, praises, and rewards must have been at least as effective.¹ Extremely illuminating in this connection are several African inscriptions recording speeches made by the Emperor in 128 A.D. while reviewing troops stationed at Lambaesis in Africa.²

To the *primipili* of a legion he says:

The legate has himself made all possible apologies in your behalf: that one cohort is absent because one is sent in rotation every year for the service of the proconsul; that three years ago you gave up one cohort and four men from each century to help out your comrades of the third legion; that many and distant posts keep you separated; and that recently you have not only twice moved out of your camp, but also constructed new ones. For these reasons I should consider it excusable if the legion had long ceased from practice. But you have neither ceased. . . .³

Then, on July 15, we find him addressing the *ala I Pannoniorum*:

You have carried out everything in orderly fashion. You covered the *entire* (?) field with your maneuvers, you threw the spear with no little grace, you used the *hastae* short and stiff as they were, the majority of you threw the *lanceae* with equal skill. You mounted *your horses* nimbly here and swiftly yesterday. If anything had been lacking, I should have missed it; if anything had been conspicuous, I should have pointed it out. In all parts

¹ See Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 9. 1-4.

² H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1902-1916, I 2487 and III 9133-9135 a. — A German translation of these speeches will be found in H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, Berlin, 1900-1936, II 174-179; these translations are, however, rather free and seem to be influenced, stylistically, by contemporary speeches delivered at maneuvers by the German Emperor William II. — Useful commentary in S. Dehner, *Hadriani Reliquiae Particula I*, Diss. Bonn, Bonn, 1883.

³ Dessau ILS I 2487: . . . [*quae excu-*] / *sanda vobis apud me fuissent, omnia mihi pro vobis ipse di[xit: quod]* / *cohors abest, quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ocou]-* / *sulis mittitur, quod ante annum tertium cohortem et qua[ternos] / ex centuriis in supplementum comparum tertianorum dedis-* / *tis, quod multae, quod diversae stationes vos distinent, quod / nostra memoria bis non tantum mutastis castra, sed et nova fecis-* / *tis; ob haec excusatos vos hab[erem, si legio] diu exercitatione cessas-/set. Sed nihil aut cessavi[stis]. . . .*

of the performance you have pleased me equally well. Catullinus, the legate, the most honorable man, shows uniform solicitude in all things with which he is charged. . . . Your prefect seems to look out for you carefully. Take the largess and the road-allowance, you will mount *your horses* on the *Campus Commagenorum*.¹

The next speech is made to the *equitum VI cohors Commagenorum*:

Military practice, to some extent, has its own limits. If anything is added or taken away, the practice becomes either of less value or more difficult. What, indeed, is added to the difficulty, is subtracted from the agreeableness. You have done the most difficult of all difficult things; you have thrown the javelin clad in armour. . . . I applaud your spirit also. . . .²

He then proceeds to praise the quick construction of a winter camp (we are in July) and continues by addressing his speech to one *ala*:

I approve of his (the legate's) having introduced among you this form of drill which gave the impression of real fighting and so trains you that . . . I can praise you. Cornelianus, your prefect, satisfied me in the performance of his duties. Your lateral attacks (?) seem unsatisfactory to me. . . . The horse should break forth from a sheltered position and pursue *the enemy* cautiously; for if they can neither see where they are going nor keep back their horses whenever they want, they necessarily will be in danger from covered pits.³

¹ Dessau *ILS* III 9134: *Omnia per ordinem egistis. Campum d[ec]ursionibus complestis, / iaculati estis non ineleganter, hast[is] usi quamquam brevi- / bus et duris, lanceas plures vestrum [par]iter miserun[t]. Saluis- / tis et hic agiler et heri velociter. Si q[u]it defuisset, desid[e]rare, / si quit eminuisset, designarem; tota exercitatione perae[q]ue pla- / cuistis. Catullinus legatus meus v[ir] clarissimus in o[mn]i- / bus quibus praeest parem curam suam exhib[et]. . . . [prae]fectus vester sollicitus videtur vobis attendere. Congiar[i]- / um accipite, viatoriam, in Commagenorum campo saliet[i]s[s].* — For the translation of *salire* see Dehner *Hadr. Part.* 19 and Arriani Nicomediensis *Scripta Minora*, ed. A. G. Roos, Leipzig, 1928, Τέχνη Τακτική 43. 3-4: ἐπὶ τοῦτοις μέντοι πηδήσεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὡς ἐνι ποικιλωτάτας ποιοῦνται, ὅσαις ἰδέαις καὶ ὅσοις σχήμασιν ἀναβαίνεται ἵππος ὑπὸ ἱππέως · καὶ τελευταίαν δὴ τὴν ἐνόπλιον πῆδησιν ἐπιδεικνύουσι θέοντος τοῦ ἵππου κτλ.

² Dessau *ILS* I 2487: *[Ex]ercitationes militares quodammodo suas leges / [ha]bent, quibus si quit adiciatur aut detrahatur, aut minor / [exer]citatio fit, aut difficilior. Quantum autem difficultatis / [additur, i]antum gratiae demitur. Vos ex difficilibus difficil- / [imum fecistis], ut loricati iaculationem perageretis /o, quin immo et animum probo. . . .*

³ Dessau *ILS* I 2487: *laudo, quod convertuit vos ad hanc exercital[ionem], quae verae di- / micationis imaginem accepit et sic exercet, [ut lau-] / dare vos possim. Cornelianus praefectus res[ter officio suo sa-] / tisfecit. Contrari*

And another group is addressed thus:

It is hard for the horsemen of the cohorts to make a good impression even by themselves; still harder not to displease after the maneuver of the *alae*: the dimensions of the field and the number of the dart-throwers are dissimilar, the attack of the *dextrator* is repeated, that of the Cantabrian is close packed, the type of horse and the equipment vary with the pay. However, you have made criticism impossible through your ardor and zealous discharge of duty; you have gone further in that you have hurled stones with slings and have assailed the *other side* with missiles. Throughout you have mounted *your horses* briskly. The signal care of my legate Catullinus, the most honorable man, becomes evident since such men as you under his command. . . .¹

Such speeches show the competence of the Emperor both in military and psychological matters. Encouraging in their very criticism, they certainly strengthened the bonds between the ruler and his army. They allow us to envisage the speaker. A man who can speak this language is not a mere talker, a literary amateur, whom scholars often depict. It is true that in some of his literary works he used a more rhetorical style; but the Emperor drew a sharp line between literature and administration. The conciseness of his speech even borders on roughness; all he says, for instance, of one of his highest African officers, Cornelianus, is *satisfecit*.

III

We hear very little about the strictly constitutional problems of the Empire.

A letter of Hadrian of September 125 A.D., dictated at his *villa Tiburtina* and addressed τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει, runs as follows:

discursus non placent mihi[i], / *est auctor. E tecto transcurrat eques et pe[r]sequatur caute; nam si non* / *videt qua vadat aut si voluerit eum r[el]inere nequit, non potest* / *quin sit obnoxius caliculis tectis.*

¹ Dessau ILS I 2487: *Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilium post ala- / rem exercitationem non displicere: alia spatia campi, alius iacu- / lantium numerus, frequens dextrator, Cantabricus densus, / equorum forma armorum cultus pro stipendi modo. Verum / vos fastidium calore vitastis, strenue faciendo, quae fieri debe- / bant; addidistis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus con- / fligeretis; saluistis ubique expedite. Catullini leg. mei c. v. / [insignis cura] apparet, quod tales vos sub i[ll]o. . . .*

The letter which you sent me recently concerning yourselves was laid before the most illustrious Senate, and the Senate which you requested to give judgment in accordance with the *senatusconsulta* . . . and declared. . . .¹

From other (unpublished) fragments, the editor infers that the problem dealt with by the Senate concerned an ambassador and his *legationis praemia*. However that may be, it is interesting to see that the Emperor turned over to the Senate the decision concerning a municipality in the senatorial province of Achaia. The provincials knew beforehand that such would be the procedure since, in their letter to the *Emperor*, they had asked the *Senate* to decide on the basis of its previous *consulta*.

The respect felt by the Emperor for the Senate² went still further. An *oratio principis* mentioned by Ulpian in his first book *De Appellationibus* and preserved in the Digest³ provided that no appeal from the Senate to the *princeps* was possible (*appellari a senatu ad principem non posse*).

Another constitutional problem about which we hear is the question of citizenship. If a *Latinus* married a girl who possessed Roman citizenship, their son was a Roman citizen according to a *novum senatus consultum, quod auctore divo Hadriano factum est*.⁴ If however a *Latinus* married a *peregrina*, or a *peregrinus* a *Latina*, the child would follow the status of its mother, according to the same *senatus consultum*.⁵ Here we find the Senate, inspired by Hadrian, granting Roman citizenship to a group of persons who had not previously had it, namely, to children born of a father

¹ Bourguet *De Rebus Delphicis* 82: 7[Τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπεστείλα-/
8[τε πρὸν π]ερὶ ὑμ[ῶν] προσήχθη τῇ/9[λαμπροτάτῃ] συγκλήτῳ καὶ ἡ σύγκλη-/10[τος
ἦν ἡ]ξασθε ἐκ τῶν δογμάτων[ν]¹¹/[κρεῖναι . . .]ν.ορεν καὶ προσηγόρευ-/12[σεν. . . .

² Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 7.1. See also the inscription Bourguet *De Rebus Delphicis* 78-79 which will be discussed below p. 154. Cf. Weber, "Hadrian," *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* XI 308; O'Brien Moore, "Senatus," *RE Suppl.-B.* VI 778-779.

³ *Dig(est)*, edd. Th. Mommsen and P. Krüger, ed. stereotypa quarta decima, Berlin, 1922) XLIX 2.1.2. — Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II 1 (3rd edition, Leipzig, 1887) 107-108; III 2 (Leipzig, 1888) 1263; O'Brien Moore *Senatus* 783.

⁴ Gaius *Institutiones* (ed. B. Kübler, 6th ed., Leipzig, 1928) I 30, 80.

⁵ Gaius *Inst.* I 81.

with Latin rights and a mother who possessed Roman citizenship. Prior to this *senatus consultum*, only the child of a Roman father had been a Roman citizen.

Finally, some letters of the Emperor inform us of the methods of cooptation as practised in one of the Roman *collegia*, the *Fratres Arvales*. At a meeting of February 7, 120 A.D., a letter of Hadrian, himself a member of this college, was read:

*Imp(erator) Cacsar Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) fratribus Arvalibus collegis suis salutem. In locum Q. Bitti Proculi collegam nobis mea sententia coopto P. Manlium Carbonem.*¹

The Emperor's *sententia* was very naturally accepted. As a matter of fact, since the days of Caligula, the elections to certain places in the college, which normally would have been carried out by free cooptation, were conducted *ex tabella imperatoris*; that is, the *sententia* of the Emperor, delivered in writing, was simply agreed to.²

IV

We may assume that problems of legal technique formed one of Hadrian's main concerns. It was during his reign that the praetor's edict received its definite and unalterable form and that a permanent *consilium principis* was organized to prepare the imperial *responsa* to questions addressed to the Emperor by the various judicial authorities of his Empire.³ Despite his interest in legal matters, which we know from literary and legal sources, only a few of Hadrian's own letters concerning the administration of justice have survived. Furthermore, these fragments, collected by lawyers who were more interested in the decisions than in the motives which prompted them, do not afford many general remarks which would be interesting for this study.

Several provincial governors had asked the Emperor for instruc-

¹ *CIL* VI 2080 lines 25-26. A similar letter is preserved in *CIL* VI 32374, lines 32-33 (February 26, 118 A.D.).

² G. Wissowa, "Arvales Fratres," *RE* II 1469.

³ The connection between these two measures has been elucidated by F. Pringsheim, "The Legal Policy and Reforms of Hadrian," *Journal of Roman Studies* XXIV (1934) 141-153.

tions concerning certain points of legal evidence brought before their courts. To Vibius Varus, legate of the province of Cilicia, Hadrian writes:

You can tell better *than I* how much you can rely on the witnesses, what kind of people and of what rank they are, what their reputation is and which of them seemed to tell a straight story; whether they all retailed the same account devised beforehand or gave likely and extemporaneous answers to your questions.¹

He advises another governor to take all the available evidence into account and to evaluate it *ex sententia animi tui*, since it is impossible to lay down general rules on this problem.² In another case, he refuses to decide merely on the basis of written *testimonia*. He suggests that the witnesses themselves be questioned as he is wont to do (*nam ipsos interrogare soleo*) and refers both parties to the *praeses provinciae*.³

If the Emperor had, to a certain extent, given stable form to the administration of law by crystallizing the *edictum perpetuum*, on the other hand he increased the *auctoritas* of the lawyers by taking some of them into his *consilium* and by sanctioning their *ius respondendi ex auctoritate principis*. Their *sententiae et opiniones* were to be binding on the judge; it was only if the *iurisconsulti* disagreed that the judge was allowed to follow whichever opinion he preferred.⁴

These decisions and others of minor importance⁵ show that though the Emperor kept firm control over the administrative machinery, he did not mean to interfere with the details of ad-

¹ Dig. XXII 5.3.1: *Tu magis scire potes, quanta fides habenda sit testibus, qui et cuius dignitatis et cuius existimationis sint, et qui simpliciter visi sint dicere, utrum unum eundemque mediatum sermonem attulerint an ad ea quae interrogaveras ex tempore verisimilia responderint.*

² Dig. XXII 5.3.2.

³ Dig. XXII 5.3.3. — See also the fragment Dig. XXII 5.3.4 dealing with the same problem; we learn from it that the witnesses were paid their expenses.

⁴ Gaius *Inst.* I 7. On this passage see Pringsheim *Legal Policy* 146–148.

⁵ Dig. I 2. 2. 49 (concerning the *ius respondendi*); Dig. V 1. 37 (Greek rescript addressed τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν), but cf. Dig. XLVIII 6. 5. 1; Dig. V 1. 48 (conflict of duties between a private and a public office); Dig. XLVIII 20. 6. *pr.* (definition of the term *panniculariae causa*); *Cod(ex Iust.)* VI 23. 1 (letter to A. Catonius Verus concerning witnesses to a will).

ministration: whereas the principles of law become fixed by the *edictum perpetuum*, the *iurisconsulti* and the officials are left to administer it. They are urged to decide according to their own understanding.

V

A large number of the extant letters of the Emperor deal with the municipalities of the Empire.

The cities of Greece, above all Athens, were especially dear to the imperial *Graeculus*. In 124/125 A.D. the Emperor, when visiting Athens, granted it a new constitution inspired by the laws of Draco and Solon;¹ even the *Boulē* was reduced from 600 to 500 in order to restore its Cleisthenian form.²

Hadrian's sympathy for Athens is well reflected in an extant letter dating from 131/132 A.D.:

You know that I use all excuses to bestow favors both publicly on the city and privately on certain Athenians. I give to your *παῖδες* and *νέοι* the gymnasium so that the city may be embellished, and I give you besides . . . talents. . . . Farewell.³

The venerable religious traditions of Delphi made it likewise the object of the Emperor's care. Hadrian's answer to their congratulatory embassy has been mentioned above.⁴ — Sometime between 118 and 125 A.D., probably not long before 125, Hadrian wrote a long letter to Delphi, of which, unfortunately, only fragments are preserved.⁵ He announces that on his arrival at Delphi he is going to decide whether certain sums should be paid out of

¹ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Le Caire, 1934, 30-35; P. Graindor, "Études épigraphiques sur Athènes à l'époque impériale," *Revue des Études Grecques* XXXI (1918) 227-240.

² Graindor *Athènes* 83.

³ IG II² 1102: ¹⁰Ἰστε ὡς πάσαις χρῶμαι προφάσεσιν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ/¹¹δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ Ἀθηναίων τινάς· τοῖς παισὶν/¹²ὑμῶν τοῖς [τε νέοις τὸ γυμνάσιον δίδωμι πρὸς τῷ κόσμῳ-/¹³οἱ γένεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τ]άλαντα ἐπι[δίδω-]/¹⁴[μὴ - - - - - εὖ]τυχεῖτε. — See, however, a different restoration by P. Graindor, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* XXXVIII (1914) 392-396. — For the terms *παῖδες* and *νέοι* see F. Pohland, "Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesens," *Preisschriften . . . der Fürstl. Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig* XXXVIII (1909) 93-95, 97.

⁴ P. 143.

⁵ Bourguet *De Rebus Delphicis* 74.

the funds of the Pythian Apollo — a question on which the Delphians could not agree with the Thessalians. Furthermore, he intends to settle a dispute centering around the harbour of Cyrrha, which the Aetolians claim from the Delphians, the latter protesting that they had paid the divine Vespasian thirty talents for this territory. Since certain enactments of the Amphictyonic Council seemed to bear on the question, the Emperor ordered Claudius Timocrates, a writer who had collected those of the enactments of the Council which did not agree either with one another or with the general laws,¹ to send him his material.² Delphi seems to have claimed that the Aetolians had lost their votes, which Augustus took away from them and gave to the Nikopolitans. The Emperor announces that he will decide all these problems justly and by due process of law.

Fortunately, Hadrian's decision on this matter has survived albeit in a very mutilated condition. It is not possible to decipher the passage dealing with the Aetolians, but we can grasp the sense of what was decided in Delphi's struggle with the Thessalians:

What however should be done in accordance with the laws, I have laid before the most illustrious Senate, proposing that the votes by which the Thessalians surpass the others be distributed among the Athenians, Lacedaemonians and the other cities, so that the Council may become the common *weal* of all Hellenes.³

¹ τῶν Ἀμφικ[τυονικ]ῶν δογμάτων ὅσα ἡ ἐνά[ντι]α ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἢ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κοινοῖς. — On these general or fundamental laws of the Amphictyonic Council see Dionysios of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* IV 25: νόμους καταστησάμενος (*sc.* Amphictyon) ἔξω τῶν ιδίων, ὧν ἐκάστη πόλις εἶχε, τοὺς κοινούς ἅπασιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν Ἀμφικτυονικούς, ἐξ ὧν φίλοι μὲν ὄντες ἀλλήλοις διετέλουν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς φυλάττοντες μᾶλλον ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις. . . .

² The thoroughness with which Hadrian prepared his decisions is further attested by two fragments in Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* III 16. 12 where he consulted *veterum philosophorum et medicorum sententiae*, and XVI 13. 4-5 where the Emperor must have drawn either on some secondary source or, more probably, on the archives.

³ Bourguet *De Rebus Delphicis* 79, Col. II: ¹ . . . ἃ μέντοι χρὴ ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους [εἰ]σ[ήνεγκα]/² γ[ν]ώμην εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην [σύγ]κλητον εἰσηγη[σάμε-]/³ ν[ος] τὰς ψήφους ἅς πλέονας τῶ[ν] ἄλλων ἔχουσιν Θεσ[σα]-/⁴ λοὶ Ἀ[θηναί]οις καὶ Λακεδαιμονί[οι]ς διανεμηθῆναι καὶ ταῖ[ς]/⁵ ἄλ[λαι]ς πόλεσιν ἵνα ἡ κοινὸν πάντ[ω]ν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ συνέ-/⁶ δρ[ι]ον. — The Emperor proposes only, it is the Senate which decides. See above p. 150.

One observes in these documents a profound respect for earlier¹ institutions and strict legal sense; no member of the Amphictyony is supposed to be preponderant over any other so that perfect equality may exist among them. This policy of equality or average was to be the preparation for the "Synedrion of all the Hellenes" established by the Emperor in 132 A.D.²

Athens and Delphi were not the only cities who submitted their troubles to the Emperor. In 120 A.D. the Emperor writes 'Εφεσίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ:

Mettius Modestus, the most powerful, did well in sustaining your claims in his decision. But as you have informed me that many have appropriated your property, some retaining the goods of the debtors while denying they are their heirs and others being the actual debtors, I have sent the copy of your resolution to Cornelius Priscus, the most powerful proconsul, that he may, if such be the case, choose a man to decide the dispute and collect all that is due to the Senate (*sc.* of Ephesos).³

In 125/126 A.D. the governor of Asia, Avidius Quietus, had asked for instructions from the Emperor (ἡρόμην ὅτι χρῆ ποιεῖν) concerning lands dedicated to the Zeus of Aezanoi. The citizens of Aezanoi, among whom these lands had been distributed by the (Seleucid or Attalid?) Kings, quarrelled among themselves about the size of their respective κλῆροι and the rent which they had to pay for them. The Emperor, as the governor writes to the citizens, has decided this quarrel "combining justice with human kindness" (μείζας τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ δίκαιον), and the governor, who writes in Greek, appends Hadrian's Latin letter:

If it is not clear how large were the lots called κλῆροι into which the Kings had divided up the territory dedicated to Zeus of Aezanoi, it will be best to

¹ Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V: *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian*, Berlin, 1933, 232.

² Weber *Untersuchungen* 195, 272.

³ Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graccarum*, (Leipzig, 3rd ed., 1915-1920) II 833: ⁵[Μέττιος] Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος εὖ ἐποίησεν τὰ δίκ-/⁶[αία ὑμῖν κατα]-
νείμας ἐν τῇ κρίσει· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδῆλ[ώσατε]/⁷σφ[ετερί]ζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα,
οὐσίας τῶν δεδανισ[μέ-]/⁸νω[ν κ]ατέχοντας, οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς [δὲ]/
⁹καὶ [αὐ]τοὺς χρεώστας ὄντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ιγραφον]/¹⁰τοῦ ψηφίσματος
Κορινθίῳ Πρεῖσκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ/¹¹ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἵνα εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη ἐπιλέξῃται τινα,/ ¹²ὅς κρινεῖ τε τὰ μισθωθέντα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα/¹³ὅσα αὖν ὀφείλῃται τῇ γερουσίᾳ
. . . . — Cf. Weber *Untersuchungen* 141 n. 515.

keep to the size of the κληροί in the neighbouring *civitates*, neither more nor less, as you yourself suggest. And if it was clear which lands were *agri cleruchici* when Mettius Modestus decided that a *vectigal* should be paid on them, it is fair that from that time the *vectigal* should be paid. If it was not clear, the *vectigal* should be paid from this (the present?) time on. But if they should ask for a delay in paying the total, let it be granted.¹

“Justice paired with human kindness” — the governor has well defined the imperial policy. He might have added a third point, the golden mean, which we met already in the letter deciding Delphi’s conflict with the Thessalians.²

A similar case was brought before the Emperor at an unknown date.³ The cities of Lamia and Hypata in the province of Macedonia had quarrelled about the frontiers of their territory. The *optimus maximusque princeps Traianus Hadrianus* wrote to the proconsul of Macedonia Q. Gellius Sentius Angarinus to decide these problems. This the latter did after having consulted a surveyor; he proceeded personally to inspect the place and listened to the advocates of both cities.

While all these problems were comparatively easy to solve, an infinitely more serious task faced the Emperor at Alexandria. Here a struggle between the Greek and the Jewish population had been raging ever since the days of Caligula.⁴ A new outburst of this strife had occurred in 115 A.D. under Trajan and was still going on under his successor. About this conflict we are informed by one of the “Alexandrian Martyr Acts,” the *Acts of Paulus and Antoninus*.⁵

¹ G. Lafaye, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes etc.*, Paris, 1906–1927, IV 571: ²³*Si in quantas particulas, [g]uos [cle]ros appellant, ager Aezanen-/* ²⁴*si Ioui dicatus a regibus diuisu[s] sit, non apparet, optimum est, /* ²⁵*sicut tu quoque existimas, [modu]m, qui in uicinis ciuitatibus /* ²⁶*clerorum nec maximus [nec mi]nimus est, obseruari. Et si, cum /* ²⁷*Mettius Modestus cons[ti]tuerit, ut uectigal pro is pendere- /* ²⁸*tur, constitit qui es[se]nt cleruchici agri, aequum est ex h[oc] /* ²⁹*tempore uectigal pendi. Si [non co]nstitit, iam ex hoc tem- /* ³⁰*re uectigal pendendum e[s]t. [At] si quae morae qu[acerantur], /* ³¹*us[que] dum penda]nt inte[grum, dentur].*

² P. 154.

³ Dessau *ILS* II 5947a.

⁴ Wilcken *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie* I 1, 63–64.

⁵ *Editio princeps* in U. Wilcken, “Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus,” *Abhandlungen der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissen-*

When Trajan was engaged in his Parthian War, the Jews both within Egypt and outside it, particularly those of Cyrene, had rebelled. This rebellion was suppressed, in 116 A.D., by Q. Marcius Turbo, and both Greeks and Jews were forbidden by the prefect of Egypt, M. Rutilius Lupus, to carry arms. Not long before Trajan's death, however, in August 117 A.D., the Jews of Cyrene under their "King" Lukuas invaded Egypt and were conquered only after a long and desperate resistance. The Alexandrian Greeks began to feel more at their ease and staged a show satirizing the Jewish "King" Lukuas. This satire, very naturally, hurt the feelings of the Jews. It seems that at the same time the Alexandrian Greeks felt dissatisfied with the new Emperor. Sixty intoxicated men began to sing songs in public against him. They were punished together with some slaves; part of them were freed later by a new act of violence. Feeling ran higher still when Hadrian established¹ the Alexandrian Jews in a quarter of the city, the location of which caused the Greeks to claim that they could be more readily attacked by their old enemies.

This was sufficient to make a hearing before the Emperor necessary; the minutes of the hearing are preserved, though only with considerable literary adaptations, in the papyrus fragments mentioned above. The hearing took place before Hadrian himself prior to February 17, 121 A.D., and it is rather interesting to be informed of the Emperor's view on these events in Alexandria.

He approves the prohibition of the prefect to carry arms: "you had a sufficient number of guardians in the legions," he says to the Greeks of Alexandria.² He disapproves of the Greeks' provoking the Jews by their satire on Lukuas and of their singing offensive songs against himself.³ He tries to reconcile the opponents by

schaften XXVII (1909) 783-839. A successful attempt to fill out the gaps of the document has been made by A. von Premerstein, "Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian," *Hermes* LVII (1922) 266-316; on this edition the present account is based.

¹ Perhaps this settlement formed the content of the letter referred to in Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 8. 1a.

² Col. IV lines 7-10: ἵ . . . [Φύλακας οὖν] ἔσχατε ἐν λε(γ)ε-/ῶσιν ἱκανοὺς etc.

³ Col. I lines 12-22.

advising the Jews to restrict their hatred to the actual evil-doers and not to loathe all the Alexandrian Greeks *en bloc*.¹ There follows a violent diatribe against slaves in general whose participation in all rioting is notorious.² A bold remark on the part of one of the Greek ambassadors causes him to be arrested and tortured, and he dies soon after from the consequences. — The whole trial shows Hadrian as a rather cautious judge listening to both parties, convinced that neither of them is beyond reproach and mainly interested in restoring peace at Alexandria, the second city of his Empire.

Hadrian's relations with the municipalities can be studied particularly well in a letter which he wrote Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ in 129 A.D.:

L. Erastos claims that he is a citizen of your city and has made frequent voyages which as far as possible he has turned to the advantage of his native city and has regularly transported the governors of the province. I have already sailed twice with him, first when I was brought from Ephesos to Rhodes, and now when I arrived from Eleusis at your city. He wishes to become a senator. I leave in your hands the examination of his eligibility, and if there is no obstacle and he is judged worthy of the honor, I shall give for his election the customary amount given by the senators. Farewell.³

Whether we are dealing here with the ordinary method of election to the *Boulē* of Ephesos or, as seems more likely, with an extraordinary procedure which would have a parallel in similar occurrences in Bithynia and Pontus,⁴ the wording of the letter is

¹ Col. II: ¹¹[Οὐκ Ἀλε]ξανδρεῦσι, ἀλλ[λ]ὰ τοῖς ποιή-/¹²[σασι ταῦτα] δεῖ ἐ[πεξ]έρχεσθαι. — Col. III: ¹⁷Οὐ δύνασθε δὲ [σύμπαντας] μείσιν (r. μισεῖν) Ἀλεξανδρεῖς [εἰ καὶ τι-]/¹⁹νες Ἀλαξανδρεῖς (sic) εὐχ[ερῇ δοκοῦσι]/²⁰πεποιημένοι ἢ ἀλλοῦ[τρια].

² Col. III lines 25-31.

³ Dittenberger *SIG*³ II 838 (a slightly different restoration in Lafoscade *De Epistulis* 26): Ἐ. Ἐ[ρ]αστος καὶ πολ[ε]τῆς ὑ[μ]ῶν [εἰ]ναί φ[ησιν κ]αὶ πολλ[άκις]/ἵπλ[ευ]σαι τ[ῇ]ν θάλασσαν, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ[του] δυν[α]τοῦς/ἰσχύσεσθαι γένεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τοῦ ἔθν[ους τ]οῦ[του] ἡγε-/μόνας αἰεὶ δι[α]κομ[ίσαι], ἐ[μ]οὶ δὲ δ[ί]ς ἡδη συνέπλευσεν,¹⁰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐ[φ]έσου κομ[ι]σμέ[νῳ],¹¹ νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐλευσείνου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικ[ν]ουμέν[ω], βούλ[ε]ται¹² δὲ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τ[ῇ]ν μὲν [δοκι]μασία¹³ν ἐ[μ]φ' ὑμείν/ποιοῦμαι, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν [ἔ]στι καὶ δοκεῖ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξι[ο]ς,¹⁴ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὅσον διδάσιν οἱ βουλευόντες, [δώσω τῆς ἀρχαι]-ρεσίας [ἐ]νεκα,¹⁵ εὐτυχεῖτε.

⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae ad Traianum etc.*, 112 and 113. — Cf. J. Menadier, *Qua Condicione Ephesii Usi Sint inde ab Asia in Formam Provinciae Redacta*, Diss. Berlin, 1880, 31.

most instructive. The Emperor does not say that he is appointing L. Erastos senator of Ephesos. But, on the other hand, he could be sure that the Ephesians would understand his meaning; for a *δοκιμασία* formed a regular part of the procedure *after* the candidate had been elected or appointed. The very fact that the Emperor avoids mentioning the appointment proves that municipal autonomy was still an important factor in municipal life and that, in the cities, there still existed a sensitiveness which a wise ruler did well to take into account. One other point is worth noticing: at least at Ephesos, it is still a much coveted honor to belong to the Senate.

The Emperor not only took care of the already existing cities of the Empire; he was also the founder of many a new colony. His ideas about his foundations are well expressed in two documents.

In 127 A.D. Hadrian writes Ἀδριανοπολειτῶν Στρατονικέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ:

It seems to me that your requests are lawful and necessary for a recently founded city. Now, I grant you the taxes of the countryside and the house of Tiberius Claudius Socrates. (Follow details concerning the house.)¹

Hadrian's most famous foundation was the city of Antinoopolis in Egypt. The entire city was one big monument in honor of its founder and of Antinoos; even the names of the *phylae* and *demoi* remind us of the names dear to his heart.² A papyrus dating from the rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus has preserved an excerpt from a letter of its founder to the archons of the city, dating between 130 and 135 A.D.:

Also I relieve you from all liturgies elsewhere as you have already a city for which you will carry out liturgies . . . introduce them to serve your own needs.³

¹ Dittenberger *SIG*³ II 837: ὁδίκαια ἀξιοῦν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἄ[ρ]-/᾽⁹τι γεινομένη πόλει· τὰ τε οὖν τέλη τὰ ἐ[κ]/¹⁰τῆς χώρας δίδωμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Τι[β.]/¹¹Κλαυδίου Σωκράτους κτλ.

² E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis etc.*, Diss. Leipzig, Goettingen, 1913, 123-131; H. I. Bell, "Diplomata Antinoitica," *Aegyptus* XIII (1933) 514-528; H. I. Bell, "Egypt, Crete and Cyrenaica," *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* XI 650-651.

³ *P. Würzb.* 9 in U. Wilcken, "Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrus-sammlung," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*,

The purpose of Hadrian's measure is to free the colonists, brought to Antinoopolis from Ptolemais in the Thebaid and from the Fayûm, from *munera* in their native communities. A recently founded city — this seems to be Hadrian's idea — needs all the personal services and financial support of its settlers, and the growth of the new city should not be hampered by burdening its inhabitants both in their native community and in their new home. It is interesting to note that here in Egypt the liturgies had already become a burden rather than an honor.¹

These examples give ample illustrations of Hadrian's concern for the municipalities of his Empire. Even his will provided for the completion of public works in certain cities, as we learn from an inscription at Signia.²

One general measure concerning all cities has still to be mentioned. A *senatus consultum Aponianum* of the year 123 A.D. provided that *omnes civitates, quae sub imperio populi Romani sunt*, can receive bequests and *fideicommissa*;³ evidently they cannot be instituted as heirs, since a municipality would be considered an *incerta persona*.

VI

Only a few texts deal with the cultural problems of the Empire, but these specimens are instructive, both for the culture of the period and for the writer.

Trajan's widow Plotina seems to have been interested in the school of Epicurus. In 121 A.D. she wrote to Hadrian as follows:

How much I am interested in the sect of Epicurus, you know very well, *domine*. Your help is needed in the matter of its succession; for in view of the ineligibility of all but Roman citizens as successors, the range of choice is

Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1933, no. 6, 60-71, lines 31-33: ³¹. . . καὶ λειτουργι[ῶν πασῶν τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ] / ³²[ἀφίημι] εἰ ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας ἤδη πόλιν, ἣ λειτουργ[ήσετε - - - - -] / ³³[.] ἴς (r. εἰς) τὰς χρεῖας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἰσάγετε (r. εἰσάγετε).

¹ See F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie etc.*, Leipzig, 1917, 394.

² *CIL* X 5963: *Divo Hadr[iano] / maximae mem[oriae] / principi / senatus populusq(ue) S[igninus] / quod opera reipubl[icae] utilia / profusa liberalita[te] antea] data pecunia i[est] (amento) perfici] / iusserit.*

³ *Dig.* XXXVI 1. 27.

narrow. I ask therefore in the name of Popillius Theotimus, the present successor at Athens, to allow him to write in Greek that part of his disposition which deals with regulating the succession and grant him the power of filling his place by a successor of peregrine status, should personal considerations make it advisable; and let the future successors of the sect of Epicurus henceforth enjoy the same right as you grant to Theotimus; all the more since the practice is that each time the testator has made a mistake in the choice of his successor, the disciples of the above sect after a general deliberation put in his place the best man, a result that will be more easily attained if he is selected from a larger group.¹

The Emperor answers:

I permit him to write the will in Greek concerning those matters which regard the succession of the sect of Epicurus. But since his choice of a successor will be facilitated if he has the possibility also of choosing from among the *peregrini*, this too I grant to him and to those thereafter who shall hold the office of successor: it shall be allowed to transfer this right either to a *peregrinus* or to a Roman citizen.²

Thus Roman citizenship is no longer required for the head of the school of Epicurus. The importance of this text in appreciating

¹ Dessau ILS II 7784: ⁴[Quod studium meum] erga sectam Epicuri sit, optime scis, d[om]ine. Huius successioni a te succurrendum/⁵[est; nam quia n]on licet nisi ex civibus Romanis adsumi diado[chum, in angustum redigitur eligendi /⁶[facultas. ⁷Rogo e]rgo nomine Popilli Theotimi, qui est modo diado[c]hus Athenis, ut illi permittatur a te Graece/⁸[t]estari circa ha[n]c partem iudiciorum suorum, quae ad diadoches ordinationem pertinet, et peregrei-/⁹nae condicionis posse substituere sibi successorem, s[i i]ta suaserit profectus personae; et quod Theotimo/¹⁰concesseris, ut eodem iure et deinceps utantur ful[uri] diadochi sectae Epic[u]ri, eo magis, quod opservatur/¹¹quotiens erratum est a testatore circa electionem [di]adochi, ut communi consilio substituat a studio-/¹²sis eiusdem sectae qui optimus erit: quod facilius fiet, si e[x] compluribus eligatur.

² Dessau ILS II 7784: ¹³[I]mp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Aug. Popillio Theotimo. permitto Graece testari de eis quae pertinent ad diado-/ ¹⁴chen sectae Epicureae. Set cum et facilius successorem [el]ecturus sit si ex peregrinis quoque substituendi facul-/ ¹⁵tatem abuerit, hoc etiam praesto en (r. ei et) deinceps ceteris, q[ui] diadochen habuerint: licebit vel in peregreinum vel/¹⁶ in civem Romanum ius hoc transferri. — Cf. R. Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der Römischen Kaiser," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1935 II 984 n. 1. — While the letter of Hadrian bears the name of Popillius Theotimus in the address, Popillius Theotimus is always spoken of in the third person throughout the text. This makes us suppose that, in the inscription, the address of the letter to Popillius Theotimus has been erroneously conflated with the text of Hadrian's answer to Plotina.

Hadrian's political ideas will be discussed in the last section of this paper.

This was not the only favor which the Emperor bestowed on the philosophers. They had been exempted from taxes and liturgies by Trajan; the orators, grammarians, and doctors as early as Vespasian.¹ Hadrian confirmed these exemptions by an edict immediately after his accession which is quoted in a letter of Antoninus Pius.²

Hadrian granted similar privileges to the association of Dionysiac artists (actors, musicians, poets and other persons connected with the stage).³

VII

Some few texts throw light on Hadrian's social policy.

Callistratus, in his third book *De Cognitionibus*, has preserved a rescript of Hadrian to Terentius Gentianus dating from 119 A.D. and dealing with persons who displaced boundary stones. After asserting their culpability, Hadrian turns to the principles according to which the limits of the punishment should be determined.

The form of the punishment can better be determined from the condition of the person and from his intent. For if the persons convicted are of high rank (*splendidiores*), no doubt they have committed this *deed* in order to occupy property not belonging to them, and they can be banished for such periods as their ages permit; that is, younger persons for a longer, older persons for a shorter term.⁴

¹ Herzog *Hochschulpolitik* 993-997.

² *Dig.* XXVII 1. 6. 8. The quotation from Hadrian runs as follows: φιλοσόφους ῥήτορας γραμματικούς ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι γυμνασιαρχῶν ἀγορανομῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἐπισταθμῶν σιτωνίας ἐλαιωνίας καὶ μήτε κρίνειν μήτε πρεσβεύειν μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντας μήτε εἰς ἄλλην αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐθνικὴν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

³ *BGU* 1074 = *Klio* VIII 415, lines 3-4: Κεφ[ά]λαιον ἐκ διατάγματος Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ περὶ τῶν δο[θ]εισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνῳδῶ ὧν δέ ε. [. . .] νᾶσνλία προε-/4[. π]ολῖταις χρείας ἱερᾶς ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων [.] . . . [. .] καὶ κρ[ι]νειν μὴ καθισ[τ]άνειν ἐγγυ-ητ[ά]ς ἀνεισφορίας αὐτῶν οὖν (dittography for the following syllable?) συνθυσίας μὴ δέχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην ξένους μὴ εἶργεσθαι μηδὲ ἄλλη τι νι φρου(ρᾶ) (?). . . — See the fragments of imperial letters to the τεχνῖται *IG* III 34 b (Addenda et Corrigenda p. 479) and F. Poland, "Technitai," *RE* X A (Nachträge) 2495, 2517-2518.

⁴ *Dig.* XLVII 21. 2: . . . *de poena tamen modus ex condicione personae et*

We note in this document not so much the privileged position of the *splendidiores* (= *honestiores*) who are not liable to any dishonoring punishment,¹ as the striking disadvantage to which these persons are subject by their very position: in the mind of the Emperor it is precisely their privileged condition which creates the legal assumption that their displacing the boundary stones was not due to a mistake, but to the unlawful intent of occupying their neighbor's land.

Another letter is preserved in Ulpian's eighth book *De Officiis Proconsulis* and concerns cattle-lifters (*abigei*). This rescript is addressed to the *concilium Baeticae* and runs as follows:

Cattle-lifters, if punished most severely, are usually sentenced to death by the sword: however, they are not punished in this very harsh way everywhere, but only where this type of crime is rather frequent; otherwise they are sentenced to forced labour and sometimes to a term of it. And therefore I believe that among you too that type of punishment will be adequate which is the severest generally imposed on this crime, namely that cattle-lifters be put to the sword.²

It seems that the *concilium Baeticae* had suggested one of the more cruel types of death penalty.³ The Emperor does not agree. The ordinary death penalty should, according to him, be the severest one for a cattle-lifter. Justice but no unnecessary cruelty: this seems to be Hadrian's principle.

A *senatusconsultum Tertullianum* promulgated under Hadrian ⁴

mente facientis magis statui potest: nam si splendidiores personae sunt quae convincuntur, non dubie occupandorum alienorum finium causa id admiserunt, et possunt in tempus, ut cuiusque patiatur aetas, relegari, id est, si iuvenior, in longius, si senior, recisius etc. Cf. Lex Dei Sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collectio (edd. E. Seckel and B. Kübler, Iurisprudentiae Anteustinianae Quae Supersunt II (Leipzig, 1927) 325-394 XIII 3. 2 (Ulpian).

¹ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, 1032-1037.

² *Dig. XLVII 14. 1. pr.: abigei cum durissime puniuntur, ad gladium damnari solent. puniuntur autem durissime non ubique, sed ubi frequentius est id genus maleficii; alioquin et in opus et nonnunquam temporarium dantur.* Continuation of the text in *Lex Dei XI 7. 2: ideoque puto apud vos quoque sufficere genus poenae, quod maximum huic maleficio inrogari solet, ut ad gladium abigei dentur etc.*

³ Mommsen *Römisches Strafrecht*, 916-938.

⁴ *Inst(itutiones* ed. P. Krüger, ed. stereotypa quarta decima, Berlin, 1922), III 3. 2-3.

gave certain hereditary privileges to a mother having three or four children. Thus, under Hadrian the principle of *cognatio* advanced considerably in its fight against the older principle of *agnatio*, and the legal position of the *mater-familias* was improved.

Finally, we have two documents showing the Emperor's concern for problems of population.

Paulus, in his book *De Portionibus Quae Liberis Damnatorum Conceduntur* preserves the following fragment of an imperial letter:

The large number of sons makes the case of the children of Albinus a favorable one in my eyes since I prefer an expansion of the Empire by additional men rather than by an abundance of money: and therefore I want them to receive the property of their father which they will declare (separately?) as so many possessors even though they received it as a whole.¹

Another rescript is directed against castration and threatens a number of persons convicted of having participated in this crime with harsh punishment.²

VIII

We turn to the *nervus rerum*, the economic problems.³

Hadrian's rule began with a number of measures in favor of Egyptian agriculture.⁴ Egypt had been ruined by the devastations of the Jewish War: a decree which is not preserved but often

¹ Dig. XLVIII 20. 7. 3: *Favorabilem apud me causam liberorum Albini filiorum numerus facit, cum ampliari imperium hominum adiectione potius quam pecuniarum copia malim: ideoque illis paterna sua concedi volo, quae manifestabunt tot possessores, etiamsi acceperint universa.* Cf. Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 23. 3: εἰ τέ τινα τῶν τέκνα ἔχόντων ὀφλήσαι πάντως τι ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς γε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παίδων καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐπεκούφισεν, and *Hist. Aug., Hadrian* 18. 3: *liberis proscriptorum duodecimas bonorum concessit.*

² Dig. XLVIII 8. 4. 1.

³ The rescript concerning money-changing (F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 1926, 401-403 = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Leipzig, 1905, II 484) and the edict concerning certain problems of taxation (*ibid.*, 414-415 = IG² II 1104) are not discussed here since their attribution to Hadrian seems uncertain.

⁴ M. Rostovtzeff *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* V (1909-1913) 299.

referred to in the papyri¹ provided important reductions of rent for the tenants of imperial domains.²

These latter were favored not only in Egypt but also in Africa. The famous Ain-Wassel inscription, engraved on the *ara legis Hadrianae*, contains a *sermo procuratorum* adapting the *lex* itself³ to the necessities and customs of a given estate.⁴ We find a reference to a *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris et iis qui per decem annos continuos inculti sunt*: the tenants are entitled to occupy lands not cultivated by the *conductores* and even to transmit them to their heirs.⁵

Another inscription concerning the *Saltus Burunitanus* mentions a *kaput legis Hadrianae*⁶ preventing the *conductor* from increasing the shares of the crop (*partes agrariae*) or the services and draught-animals to be claimed from the *coloni*.

Everywhere, Hadrian seems to have favored agriculture. At the sources of the Phalaros River in Greece a letter of the Emperor, discovered some time ago but not yet published, seems to show that he tried to win fertile land by building ditches.⁷ In his last years, we find the Emperor helping Egyptian agriculture once more. His edict of 136 A.D. runs as follows:

Having been informed that now, as last year, the Nile has been inadequate in its rise . . . (), — although during a succession of preceding years its rise was not only plentiful but almost higher than any year before, and,

¹ W. L. Westermann, "Hadrian's Decree on Renting State Domain in Egypt," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XI (1925) 165-178; U. Wilcken, "Die Bremer Papyri," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1936 no. 2, 84.

² E. Kornemann, "Ein Erlass Hadrians zugunsten ägyptischer Kolonen," *Klio* VIII (1908) 398-412.

³ C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani etc.*, 7th ed., Tübingen, 1909, 301 lines 10-13.

⁴ M. Rostovtzeff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Kolonats," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung etc.* Beiheft 1, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910, 330-332, 337.

⁵ M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im Römischen Kaiserreich*, translated into German by L. Wickert, Leipzig, 1929, II 82.

⁶ Bruns *Fontes* 259 lines 5-6.

⁷ See N. Γ. Παπαδάκης, "'Ανασκαφή τῆς 'Πυρᾶς' τῆς 'Οιτης,'" *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* V (1919) παράρτημα 34, mentioned by M. Rostovtzeff *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* II 321 n. 16.

flooding all over the country, it caused the produce of abundant and flourishing crops — still I have deemed it necessary to bestow a favor on the cultivators, although I hope — this be said with God! — that in years to come any possible deficiencies will be supplied by the Nile itself and the earth, (according to the revolving (?) nature of things, which change from prosperous flow and abundance to scarcity and from scarcity to plenty.

For good luck! Know that the money tax due for this year shall be payable, by the inhabitants of the Thebaid who probably are most seriously hurt by the scarcity, in five annual instalments, by those from the Heptanomia in four, by those from the Delta in three, the mode of paying semi-annually being allowed those wishing to do so, under the condition that the limits of the time granted remain for those from the Thebaid five years, for those from the Heptanomia four years, for those from the Delta three years.¹

What particular tax or taxes were included in the “money tax” of our edict, it is hard to ascertain.² But it is interesting to see the Emperor’s “human kindness” being manifested at the end of his reign just as it had been in the beginning: the “money tax” can be paid by instalments. Furthermore, here for the first time in all his letters, only a few years before his death, he indulges, in an

¹ *Editio princeps* by P. Jouguet, “Un Édit d’Hadrien,” *Revue des Études Grecques* XXXIII (1920) 375–402. S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses* III (Oslo, 1936) 78 have re-edited and translated the text on the basis of the readings of a new papyrus fragment (see the facsimile). I am using their text and, in the main, their translation: ⁶Καὶ νῦν ἐνδέεσσι[ερον ἀναβῆναι τὸν Νεῖλον, ὡς καὶ πέρυσιν], ⁶πυθόμενος οὐδὲ τ[. < > (?) , εἰ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔτεσι ἐξῆς οὐ τελείαν μόνον], ⁷ἀλλὰ καὶ [αἰ] μείζω [σχεδὸν ὅσην οὐπὼ πρότερον ἐποιήσα-] ⁸το τὴν ἀνάβασιν [καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἐπελθῶν] ⁹αἰτίας [ὑπ]ῆ[ρ]ξεν αὐ[τὸς τοῦ πλείστους καὶ καλλίστους καρποὺς] ¹⁰ἐξεργ[κεῖν], ὅμω[ς ὥθη]ν ἀνάγκην εἶναι ποιήσας]- ¹¹θ[α]ῖ τινα [πρὸς] τοὺς [γεωργοὺς φίλανθρωπῶν, καίτοι] ¹²προσδοκῶν — σὺν θ[εῶ] δὲ εἰρήσθω — τῶν ἐπιόντων] ¹³ἐτῶν, καὶ εἴ τ[ι] νῦν ἐ[νεδέ]σεν, ἀναπληρώσειν καὶ αὐτὸν] ¹⁴τὸν Ν[εῖ]λον καὶ τὴν γῆ[ν] . . . τη . ἐξ ὅτερον τὴν φύσιν τῶν πραγ]- ¹⁵μάτων, ὡς ἐγὼ μ[ε]ν εὐροίας καὶ πολυκαρπίας εἰς ἔνδειαν] ¹⁶[μ]εταβαλεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς [ἐνδείας εἰς ἀφθονίαν. τύχη δὲ τῆ ἀγα]- ¹⁷[θ] τὸν φόρον τὸν το[ύτου τοῦ ἔτους τὸν ἀργυρικὸν] ¹⁸[ἔ]στε δι[α]νεμη-θησάμ[ε]νο[ν] τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίδος, οὗς μάλι]- ¹⁹[στ]α εἰκόσ[ε]κ τῆς ἐν[δ]είας βλαβῆ-ναι, εἰς ἑ[ν]ιαυσίους κατα]- ²⁰[βολὰ]ς [τ]ο[ῖς] δὲ ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν Ὑ νομῶν εἰς τέσσαρας, τοῖς δὲ] ²¹[ἀπὸ] τῆς Κάτω χώρας εἰς τρεῖς, ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις] ²²[καὶ] κατ’ ἐξάμην[ον ἀποδιδόναι, μενούσης τῆς συγχω]- ²³[ρηθείσης προθεσμίας τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίδος τῶν ἐτ-] ²⁴[ῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ὑ νομῶν τῆς τετραετίας καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ] ²⁵[τῆς Κάτω χώρας τῆς τριετίας.] - - - - -

² Jouguet *Édit* 392–398; Rostovtzeff *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft etc.* II 81, 321 n. 13.

official document, in some general remarks of a philosophical character: nature itself changes from scarcity to plenty, and the god Nilus will take care of the needs of his Egyptians.

All these measures seem to have been in favor of the small land-owner or tenant, to protect him against the encroachments of the *conductores* and the consequences of the acts of God and of nature.

The same tendency appears in Hadrian's attitude towards the mining industry. An inscription discovered in 1906 at Vipasca and supplementing the fragments of the so-called *lex Metalli Vipascensis*¹ contains in its second paragraph² the mention of a *liberalitas sacratissimi imperatoris Hadriani Augusti*. In order to make mining attractive and possible for the small capitalist, the Emperor decided that the price for silver mines had to be paid to the *fiscus* only after the mine-owner had struck ore. Thus, it was only after a chance of profit had appeared that he had to pay the price. Thenceforth, it was possible even for people with small capital to acquire silver mines.³

The food supply of the cities of the Empire was a problem with which all the Emperors had to struggle. Hadrian, in a letter of 124/125 A.D.⁴ forbade the selling of fish in Attica by retail merchants (οἱ πάλιν καπηλεύοντες) whom he threatens with penalties to be imposed on them by the Areopagus. Only the fishermen themselves and the original purchasers (οἱ πρῶτοι παρ' αὐτῶν ὠνούμενοι) are allowed to sell (πιπρασκέτωσαν) the fish. "For if there is a third person selling the same goods, prices rise."⁵ One could not say it more precisely: too many intermediaries elevate prices. It would appear that, by keeping down the price level for fish, the Emperor acted both in the interest of the Attic fishermen and of the consumers in Attica.

A very elaborate decree was issued by Hadrian around the year 124 A.D. It stated that farmers had to sell part of their oil-crop

¹ Bruns *Fontes* 289-293.

² Bruns *Fontes* 293-294.

³ This at least is the result of the best study of ancient mining, E. Schönbauer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaurechts," *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung etc.*, Heft 12, München, 1929, 64-71.

⁴ IG² II 1103.

⁵ IG² II 1103:¹⁰ . . . τὸ δὲ καὶ τρίτους ὦ-/¹¹νητὰς γεινομένους τῶν αὐτῶν ὠνίων με[τα]πιπράσκειν ἐπιτείνει/¹²τὰς τειμάς.

to the state, that is, to the city of Athens. Perhaps the motive for this rule was to supply the city with the oil necessary to light its public buildings.¹

Tax problems seem to have been a constant worry to the Emperor.

He exempted the inhabitants of Astypalaea from the payment of the *aurum coronarium* in 118 A.D. because "you claim to be poor and unable to pay."²

The *decuriones* of the municipalities were responsible for the proper collection of the taxes, and it is quite characteristic that the Emperor forbade any *decuriones* to be sentenced to death except for parricide;³ he would have lost his guarantors.

We find the Emperor caring with equal solicitude for the tax-farmers and farmers of public land. Callistratus, in his third book *De Iure Fisci*, quotes one of Hadrian's rescripts:

That is a most inhuman practice according to which the farmers of public taxes and of fields are held responsible if they cannot be farmed out again for the same price; for farmers will be found more easily if they know that after five years they can withdraw if they want to.⁴

Here, we see the Emperor combine *humanitas* with economic considerations: if this practice were to continue, it would soon be exceedingly hard to find *conductores* for the taxes or for imperial domains.

Finally, a rescript of Hadrian, preserved by Callistratus, shows that in certain parts of the Empire at least the *munera* had already become a burden for which it was hard to find candidates. He writes:

I agree that if other suitable persons cannot be found to take over this *munus*, they should be appointed from those who have already held it.⁵

¹ IG² II 1100 with the note of the editor.

² G. Lafaye IGRR IV 1032: ⁶. . . ἀπο-/ῖρεῖν φατε καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τελεῖν τὸ ἐπαγγέλ-/ ⁸τικὸν ἀργύριον etc.

³ Dig. XLVIII 19. 15.

⁴ Dig. XLIX 14. 3. 6: *Valde inhumanus mos est iste, quo retinentur conductores vectigalium publicorum et agrorum, si tantidem locari non possint. Nam et facilius inveniuntur conductores, si scierint fore ut, si peracto lustro discedere voluerint, non teneantur.*

⁵ Dig. L 4. 14. 6: *Illud consentio, ut, si alii non erunt idonei qui hoc munere*

IX

Extremely few texts deal with Hadrian's personal affairs.

An inscription ¹ has preserved the funeral speech of a son-in-law for his mother-in-law; the speaker has been identified with Hadrian and the dead mother-in-law with the older Matidia Augusta who died before 119 A.D. The inscription is badly mutilated, but the general trend of the speech can be reconstructed. Hadrian claims that he honored Matidia as if she were his own mother. "She came," he says, "to her uncle (Trajan) after he had taken over the principate, and from then on she followed him until his last day, accompanying him and living with him, honoring him as a daughter would, and she was never seen without him." He says that he is overcome with grief at her death, calls her "the best mother-in-law" and speaks of her virtues. She was, he continues, "most dear to her husband, *and* after his death, through a long widowhood, *passed* in the very flower and fullest beauty of her person, most chaste, most dutiful to her mother, herself a most indulgent mother, a most loyal relative, helping all, not troublesome to any, always in good humour." She never asked a favor of him, though he would have liked to grant it.² She delighted only in her son-in-law's *fortuna*.

fungantur, ex his, qui iam functi sunt, creentur. — The oppressive character of the *munera* had appeared already in Hadrian's letter to Antinoopolis above p. 159. — We learn from an interesting letter of the Emperor (F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson *Municipal Administration* 399) that only those citizens who owned property were responsible for the maintenance of the imperial road at Heraclea in Macedonia.

¹ *CIL* XIV 3579. — See Th. Mommsen, "Grabrede des Kaisers Hadrian auf die ältere Matidia," *Gesammelte Schriften* I (Berlin, 1905) 422-428; F. Vollmer, "Laudationum Funebrium Romanorum Historia etc.," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Suppl.-B.* XVIII (1891-1892) 516-524; G. Herzog-Hauser, "Matidia," *RE* XXVIII 2199-2202; Strack *Untersuchungen* II 68.

² ²⁷ . . . *tanta modestia, uti nihil umquam a me pe-* / ²⁸ [*tierit suo usui cre*] *braque non petierit, quae peti maluissem . . .* — The restorations are those of Vollmer *Laudationum* 520. — It is rather *piquant* to compare with this passage a sentence from his funeral speech for Trajan's widow Plotina, preserved by Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 10. 32: πολλὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ (Hadrian) αἰτήσασα (Plotina) οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν.

One further document might be mentioned in this chapter. A papyrus, written during the second century A.D.,¹ claims to give the text of a letter of the dying Emperor Hadrian to his successor Antoninus.

The Emperor Caesar Hadrian Augustus to his most esteemed Antoninus, greeting. Above all I want you to know that I am being released from my life neither before my time, nor unreasonably, nor piteously, nor unexpectedly, nor with faculties impaired, even though I shall almost seem, as I have found, to do injury to you who are by my side whenever I am in need of attendance, consoling and encouraging me to rest. From such considerations I am impelled to write to you as follows, not, by Zeus, as one who subtly devises a tedious account contrary to the truth, but rather making a simple and most accurate record of the facts themselves, . . . and he who was my father by birth fell ill and passed away as a private citizen at the age of forty, so that I have lived half as long again as my father, and have reached nearly the same age as that of my mother. . . .²

The text is not easy to interpret, but I think that, with the help of our literary evidence, it can be understood. At the beginning, the Emperor insists that death will be a relief to him. He is afraid

¹ P. Fay. 19 (edd. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, London, 1900, 112-116). — Cf. the restoration of F. Buecheler, "Coniectanea," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* LVI (1901) 326-327, which has been accepted by F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922) 128 in his reedition, and by J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, Ann Arbor, 1933, 19 in his translation of the text. See, however, a different restoration in W. Crönert, "Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung etc.* II (1903) 364, which seems to be paleographically possible as far as that can be ascertained without a personal inspection of the papyrus and certainly makes better sense. I have followed the text of Crönert as far as it goes, and for the rest the suggestions of Buecheler with the translation of Winter.

² Here is the Greek text: ¹[Ἀυτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ Ἀδριανὸς Σε[βαστὸς] Ἄν[τ]ωνίνω/²[. . . . τ]ῷ τειμωτάτῳ χαιρεῖν. "Ὅ[τι ο]ὔτε ἄω-/³[ρεῖ οὔτ]ε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ροσ]δοκῆτῳ[ς]/⁴[οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βί[ο]υ πρὸ παντὸς βού-/⁵[λομαί σε γν]ῶναι, εἰ καὶ παρατυχόντα μοι νοση[λευμένῳ]/⁶[καὶ παρα]μυθούμενον καὶ προτρέποντα δι[αναπαύεσθαι]/⁷[σχεδὸν δόξω ἀ]δικεῖν ὥς εὖρον· Καὶ ἀπὸ τοιού[των οὖν ὀρμῶ]-/⁸[μαί τάδε σοι γρά]ψαι οὐ μὰ Δε[ί]’ ὥς φ[ο]ρτικὸν λόγο[ν τεχνά]ζων παρ’/⁹[ἀλή]θ[ε]ϊαν, [ἀλλ’] αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλήν [τε καὶ]/¹⁰[ἀκριβ]εστάτην μνήμην ποιούμενος ε[. . . .]/¹¹[. . . .] καὶ ὁ μὲν φύσει πατήρ γενόμε[ος ἀσθενῆς]/¹²[τεσσαρά]κοντα βιώσας ἔτη ιδιώτης μετ[ήλλαξεν],/¹³[ᾧστε τῷ ἡ]μιολίῳ πλέον με βιῶναι τοῦ πατρός[ς, τῆς]/¹⁴[δὲ μητρ]ός με σχεδὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικ[ίαν] [ἔχειν γεγυνίας]/ etc.

to hurt Antoninus' feelings by such a statement and mentions casually (*ὡς εὔρων*) that, on an earlier occasion, Antoninus had already disapproved of Hadrian's *taedium vitae*. Now we know that, during the last year, the Emperor was tired of life and he is even said to have attempted suicide.¹ One of his attempts was prevented by Antoninus who "begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed."² The clause *ὡς εὔρων*, therefore, might be explained by this earlier occurrence.

Thus, nothing in the text contradicts our external evidence. But this does not prove the genuineness of the document, which, very naturally, has been suspected of being the production of some student of rhetoric. On the papyrus the text was first written by the hand of a teacher and, afterwards, the beginning was copied by his pupil. Indeed, the queer comparisons of the length of Hadrian's life with that of his parents might look somewhat like an exercise in composition. But it should be remembered that the text was written first by the hand of the teacher and, only later, was copied by the pupil. Consequently, if it was an exercise in composition, we should have to assume that it was drafted by the teacher or the author of the text-book which he used. Furthermore, the clause *ὡς εὔρων* might indicate somewhat more than mere consistency with our external evidence; it seems to betray a rather intimate knowledge of events in the imperial family. Finally, there is one argument which, though not entirely conclusive, makes the balance turn rather to the side of genuineness. Cassius Dio³ knew a letter of Hadrian in which the Emperor expressed his longing for death and regretted that he was unable to die. If

¹ Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 17. 2-3; *Hist. Aug. Hadrian* 24. 8-13.

² *Hist. Aug. Hadrian* 24. 9: *rogantibusque ut aequo animo necessitatem morbi ferret, dicente Antonino parricidam se futurum si Hadrianum adoptatus ipse pateretur occidi*. — The translation in the text is that of D. Magie, Loeb series, I (London and New York, 1921) 75.

³ Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 17. 3: *ἔστι γε αὐτοῦ* (of Hadrian) *καὶ ἐπιστολὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνδεικνυμένη, ὅσον κακὸν ἔστιν ἐπιθυμοῦντά τινα ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι*.

Hadrian wrote such a letter — and Cassius Dio gives no indication of doubting its authenticity — why should we not believe that he is the author of a letter in which he expressed his satisfaction that the moment which he had so long desired had finally arrived? Once more, the argument is not conclusive, but it shows at least that the document deserves more attention than has previously been given to it.

X

On the preceding pages we made Hadrian speak for himself. The study of a man's letters and speeches does not allow any objective appreciation of his historical achievements: *audiat et altera pars!* But what might be expected from such a study is an insight into the man's personality, a comprehension of his political ideas whether right or wrong, and of the philosophy, if philosophy there is, which might have helped to form them.

Of Hadrian's *personality* we cannot gather much from his own words. Hardly ever does he allow us to catch a glimpse of his deepest feelings. In this respect, he is very different from Trajan who, in his letters to Pliny, makes general and personal remarks on almost every page. Religious matters are only once touched upon, in his Egyptian Edict of 135/136 A.D. A few words in the speeches at Lambaesis and in his funeral oration for the older Matidia which convey the impression of genuine concern — that is about all the material which we possess for an appreciation of Hadrian's character. We gain the impression of an extremely reticent man who is always at work. A certain amount of vanity is there; he is extremely proud of his knowledge of military things and imagines that he would notice any irregularity in a review. He displays much wisdom in his sentence on *difficultas* and *gratia* and is, in spite of all his reticence, not devoid of feelings, as his speech at the death of the older Matidia shows. In his later years, he seems to succumb occasionally to the temptation of expatiating on generalities.

Since his words do not provide us with much direct information, we shall have to turn to his *political ideas* as expressed in his acts. It will be remembered that, in 125/126 A.D., Avidius Quietus, gov-

ernor of Asia, had written that the Emperor decided a quarrel *μείξας τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ δίκαιον*, "combining justice with human kindness." In fact these two ideas, justice and human kindness, and their combination are the main thoughts expressed again and again, directly or indirectly, in our documents.

Justice requires reverence for institutions and laws of the grand old days. The Senate is treated, at least outwardly, with the greatest respect. In a good many cases, the Emperor confirms the liberty and autonomy of the cities of the Empire. In the case of Athens he even revives the laws of Draco and Solon. Privileges granted to certain social groups by previous Emperors are maintained; the traditions of the Roman army are cherished. Ancient laws as such are respected: the prohibition of matrimony for soldiers, the distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* in questions of punishment. This traditionalism evinces a considerable antiquarian interest; in order to maintain old laws and institutions it is necessary to know them.

Humanitas occurs most frequently in our documents in the form of its Greek equivalent *φιλανθρωπία*.¹ It stands as a sort of equity at the side of strict justice. The practical consequences of soldiers being forbidden to marry must be mitigated by making their illegitimate children *cognati* as far as their father's inheritance is concerned. The archaic system of *agnatio* begins to yield to the less rigid principle of blood relationship (*cognatio*). The property of a man who has been sentenced to death is not confiscated but transferred to his children; for the most profitable expansion of the Empire consists in men, not in money. It had been the Praetor who, up to the days of Hadrian, had administered equity by acting *adiuvandi vel supplendi vel corrigendi iuris civilis gratia*.² Now the Emperor took over the administration of *humanitas-φιλανθρωπία*, and limited, by the *edictum perpetuum*, the freedom of the *praetor* to develop new principles of equity.

¹ See also Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.* LXIX (Epitome) 2. 5: *φιλανθρωπότερα ἄρξας*. — On this "popular" conception of *humanitas* see Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* XIII 17: *quodque a Graecis φιλανθρωπία dicitur et significat dexteritatem quandam benevolentiamque erga homines promiscam*. Cf. I. Heinemann, "Humanitas," *RE Suppl.-B.* V 282-284, 305-310.

² *Dig.* I 1. 7. 1 (Papinian).

Iustitia and *humanitas*-φιλανθρωπία produce a third phenomenon which appears in our documents: *uniformity*. It is both just and humane that all men be treated alike. Thus Hadrian extends the privilege of Roman citizenship to a group of persons who previously had enjoyed only Latin rights. Even where these distinctions of civic status continue to exist, their consequences are mitigated by admitting persons of inferior status to positions formerly reserved to Roman citizens; for instance, a *peregrinus* can become now the head of the Epicurean School. Hadrian revises the distribution of votes in the Delphic Amphictyony so that all members may be evenly represented in the federation. Uniformity is particularly evident in two documents in which we find the Emperor applying a sort of comparative jurisprudence: the size of the *agri cleruchici* at Aezanoi depends on their size in the neighbouring *civitates*, and in the case of the punishments for cattle-lifters in Baetica Hadrian takes as a basis for his ruling their punishment in the other provinces of his Empire. From a more or less loose federation of city states under Augustus the Empire has become an administrative unit. Everywhere the interests of the socially weaker classes are protected by the imperial judge and legislator; for only thus can equal rights be guaranteed to them. Above all, the urbanization of the Empire in which we saw the Emperor take such an active part tends to make urban equality accessible to a greater number of persons.

Uniformity does not mean centralization. The travels of the Emperor and his retinue are a most important factor in decentralization. His instructions to the local authorities emphasize that many cases cannot be decided from the capital. He strengthens the authority of his administrators by confirming their measures wherever possible.

It will be noticed that certain of Hadrian's ideas correspond to the views expressed in contemporary philosophy, particularly those of the Stoics. It would be rash to infer that Stoicism was ruling the Empire as early as Hadrian; at his time certain Stoic ideas had become part of general education, and the Emperor as an educated man was acquainted with them. Still, it may not be wholly accidental that the best ancient judgment on Hadrian was

written by a man who was at the same time a friend, military officer, and civil official of Hadrian and an ardent admirer of the Stoic Epictetus, Arrian. At the end of his *Τέχνη Τακτική* he speaks of the excellent training and equipment of the Roman troops "remarkable partly for beauty, partly for speed, partly for frightening effect and partly for practical utility. Thus the following words, it seems to me, are more consonant with the present government of which Hadrian has been the Prince for twenty years than with old Sparta:

‘ἐνθ’ αἰχμὰ τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μῶσα λίγεια,
καὶ δίκαια εὐρυνάγνια καλῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἔργων.’¹

Lance, Muse and Public Justice, the latter promoting good deeds, were indeed the three foci of Hadrian's activity.

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¹ Arriani Nicomediensis *Scripta Minora*, ed. A. G. Roos, Leipzig, 1928, *Τέχνη Τακτική* 44. 2-3 τὰ μὲν ἐς κάλλος τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀξύτητα, τὰ δὲ ἐς ἐκπληξιν τὰ δὲ ἐς χρείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ. ὥστε ἐς τήνδε τὴν παρούσαν βασιλείαν, ἣν Ἀδριανὸς εἰκοστὸν τοῦτ' ἔτος βασιλεύει, πολὺ μᾶλλον ξυμβαίνειν μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα ἢ περ ἐς τὴν πάλαι Λακεδαιμόνα. There follow the verses of Terpander, see Th. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th ed., Leipzig (1914), III 12 frg. 6.

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ARISTOTLE ON THE BEAUTY OF TRAGEDY¹

BY GERALD FRANK ELSE

EIGHTY years have passed since Bernays wrote: "*Die 'tragische Reinigung der Leidenschaften' ist in die zahlreiche Klasse ästhetischer Prachtausdrücke übergegangen, die jedem Gebildeten geläufig und keinem Denkenden deutlich sind.*"² It cannot be said that the situation has improved since his day; at least, on the subject of catharsis there are still almost as many opinions as men. It is true that in this confusion of tongues Bernays' own theory, that 'catharsis' is a medical metaphor and signifies a pleasurable relief or discharge of the passions, has had a greater vogue than any other and has in fact become in a sense the modern vulgate. Refuted or weakened again and again,³ it nevertheless returns to haunt the commentators, chiefly because no other interpretation seems to fit the evidence so well. And yet the cathartic theory of catharsis, if we may call it so, does not really satisfy anybody who thinks seriously about the problem. Involuntarily one asks: is it really possible that Aristotle could find nothing better to say about the effect of tragedy than that it relieves us of our surplus emotions?⁴

¹ This article is based on a paper delivered before the American Philological Association at Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1937. I am deeply indebted to Professors C. N. Jackson, E. K. Rand, and W. C. Greene for comments and suggestions.

² *Grundzüge der verlorenen Abhandlung des Aristoteles über die Wirkung der Tragödie*, Breslau, 1857, p. 138.

³ Thus Bonitz very early ("Aristotelische Studien, V," *Abhandl. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, LV (1867), 13-55) destroyed one of the chief props of the theory, namely Bernays' distinction between *πάθος* and *πάθημα*. For a summary of the arguments against Bernays see H. Otte, *Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis?*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 10-45.

⁴ The inadequacy of this theory is plainly stated by Macneile Dixon, *Tragedy*, London, 1924, p. 124, and even more outspokenly by F. L. Lucas, *Tragedy*, London, 1928, p. 26: "Suppose we said: 'I have not wept properly for three months, so tonight I shall relieve my pent-up feelings by going to the "Garden of Allah"'; should we expect to be taken seriously?" Yet Lucas does not question that this is Aristotle's meaning, "this and not any vague prettification of the theory that may have been read into his words by later critics" (p. 28).

What of the exaltation, the sense of beauty, the liberation of spirit that we find, or think we find, in the great tragedies? Butcher thought that the tragic catharsis implied exaltation, the lifting of the spectator out of his petty self to a plane of universal sympathy;¹ and in return he is accused by Rostagni of arbitrary interpretation and "*alterazione storica*."² Indeed, Rostagni goes further and warns us that any aesthetic interpretation of catharsis is historically impossible.³

Thus we are placed in an intolerable dilemma. We should like to believe that Aristotle had given us a theory of the effect of tragedy which is worth serious consideration; but the evidence apparently condemns us to accept one which is trivial and unworthy of the subject. In this unhappy state of affairs, it is possible that new evidence and a new angle of approach may set us on the right road. I believe that this evidence is to be found in two late Platonic dialogues, the *Philebus* and the *Timaeus*.⁴

The discussion in the *Philebus* centers about the question: what is the highest good for man, pleasure or the activity of the mind, *ἡδονή* or *φρόνησις*? In the course of the dialogue Plato distinguishes two classes of pleasures, the pure and the impure or mixed.⁵ By impure pleasures he means those which are necessarily and inseparably mixed with pain.⁶ Most bodily pleasures are of this kind; and Plato (not without a certain grim, scholastic humor) takes as their type the pleasures of scratching. An itch is painful,

¹ *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*⁴, London, 1904, pp. 252-273. As a matter of fact, Butcher places himself in a curious dilemma. He accepts purgation as the primary meaning of *κάθαρσις* (pp. 244-252), but thinks it 'also' means exaltation. Obviously the two ideas have nothing to do with each other; and we are not told how the second could grow out of the first.

² "Aristotele e Aristotelismo nell' Estetica Antica," *Studi Ital. di Fil. Class.*, N. S. II (1922), 3 n. 1. Butcher himself in effect admits the charge, p. 268.

³ *La Poetica di Aristotele*, Turin, 1934, Introd. p. XLVII.

⁴ The passage of the *Philebus* which bears directly on tragedy and comedy (48a-50d) has often been cited, e.g. by Finsler, *Platon und die Aristotelische Poetik*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 43, 77-78, 207; but so far as I know the bearing of the dialogue as a whole on the *Poetics* has not been explored.

⁵ *καθαρά* (52c, 63e) or *ἄμεικτοι* (50e) and *μειχθεῖσαι* (50e) or *σύμμεικτοι* (46a, *σύμμεικτον κακόν*) respectively.

⁶ 46a; cf. 36b, *Rep.* 586b.

but scratching it produces a pleasurable sensation; and this pleasurable sensation is so interwoven with the pain that each is conditioned by the other. In fact, the presence of pain gives pleasure a special edge or intensity, so that the pleasures of the sick man and the libertine are the keenest of all.¹ In general, a physical pain is caused by derangement or destruction of the organism, or by 'emptying,' and the corresponding pleasure by a return to health, or by 'filling up.'² Thus physical pleasure and pain are motions, *κινήσεις*, or processes of becoming, *γενέσεις*, and change and variation are of their essence.³ They are not settled states but passages from one state to another, without stability and without definition except by reference to the direction in which they move. Their effect depends on contrast. Hence they are relative and illusory; for it is impossible to measure them by any absolute or objective standard.⁴

Exactly similar is the case of another class of mixed pleasures, those namely which involve both body and soul. To this class belong the physical desires, *ἐπιθυμίας*. For example, a man who is thirsty, but who foresees that he will relieve his thirst by drinking, is in a double or ambiguous state: he feels pain in so far as he is thirsty, but pleasure in so far as he anticipates relief.⁵ Or his pleasure may refer to the past rather than to the future; that is, it may rest not on hope but on memory. In either case, hope or memory, the pleasure depends on an opinion, *δόξα*, which may or may not be true; and if the opinion is false, then so is the pleasure which accompanies it.⁶ In short, the pleasures of desire are as illusory as the purely physical pleasures, and no more to be trusted.

¹ 45a-e.

² 31de, *Rep.* 585b, *Tim.* 65a. Plato's master terms for the two processes are *κένωσις* and (*ἀνα*)*πλήρωσις*. For the whole theory see A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 446-462.

³ *Phileb.* 53c, *Rep.* 583e; cf. *Tim.* 64e.

⁴ *Phileb.* 42ab, *Rep.* 584a-585a.

⁵ *Phileb.* 36ab. The situation may of course be reversed: the pleasure may be present and the pain exist in anticipation.

⁶ 36e-40e. The notion of 'false pleasures,' together with the analysis of *δόξα* on which it is based, is obviously new and important to Plato. Cf. Stenzel, *Studien zur Entwicklung d. Platon. Dialektik*², Leipzig, 1931, pp. 71-94, on the new concept of *δόξα* as a bridge between sense and intellect.

Finally we come to the third class of mixed pleasures, those which have to do with the soul alone.¹ Among them are the mixed feelings aroused by tragedy, when the spectators ἅμα χαίροντες κλάωσι.² Unfortunately Plato dismisses tragedy here with a single phrase and goes on to comedy. But the omission can be partly repaired with the help of the *Republic*. There we learn that tragedy thrives by satisfying (πληροῦσθαι) our longing to weep and wail, and that this satisfaction gives us pleasure.³ In other words, the pleasure we get from tragedy has the same kind of source as the rest of the impure pleasures. Similarly, our delight in comedy has its roots in malice or envy, φθόνος, which in itself is painful but is pleasurably satisfied when we see the foibles of our fellow-men exposed on the stage.⁴ Plato then sums up the matter in a pregnant sentence: "It is clear from our argument . . . that in tragedies and comedies, not in plays alone but in the whole tragedy and comedy of life, pains are mixed together with pleasures."⁵ The point is one which lies at the heart of everything Plato says about poetry: that there is no real line of demarcation between literature and life, that we get the same kind of satisfaction from both, that the drama has emotional effects which are as strong, immediate, and personal as the emotional effects of life itself.

Far different are the pure pleasures, those which have no admixture of pain. They are to be found first of all in the contemplation of forms and figures, σχήματα; not, however, of the ordinary figures of men or animals or their images, but only of the pure geometrical forms of line and circle and so on.⁶ For these are beautiful eternally and in themselves, and give ἡδονὰς οἰκείας, that is, pleasures which are intrinsic in the beautiful object and partake of its nature.⁷ Again, certain musical sounds, namely those which

¹ 47d-50e.

² 48a.

³ *Rep.* 605c-606d.

⁴ *Phileb.* 48a-50a. In *Laws* 935a-e the origin of comedy is traced to anger, ὀργή or θυμός, and the pleasure of giving vent to it by invective or abuse.

⁵ 50b.

⁶ 51c.

⁷ In 63e, when νοῦς and φρόνησις are asked with what pleasures they are willing to be mixed to form the good life, they reject the pleasures of the body; "ἀλλ' ὥς τε ἡδονὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ καθαρὰς εἶπες, σχεδὸν οἰκείας ἡμῖν νόμιζε." Cf. *Rep.* 586e.

'give forth a single pure melody,' are truly beautiful; and such sounds are attended by innate pleasures, *σύμφυτοι ἡδοναί*.¹

Beyond these pleasures, which though pure are still partly sensuous, lie the untroubled delights of learning, which know no satiety and whose satisfaction is not dependent on any previous pain.² That is, the pleasures of the mind, unlike most of the sensuous pleasures, are not a release from pain, *παῦλα* or *ἀπαλλαγὴ λύπης*;³ they are not a process, but a settled state. Hence they are not subject to the indeterminateness and variability of ordinary pleasures.⁴ They are somehow partly freed from the chain of Becoming and take on something of the quality of Being. Concretely, this means that they are measured and uniform rather than intense and fluctuating.⁵

From the point of view of Plato's own early philosophy, this whole notion of 'pure pleasure' is a paradox. For after all, pleasure by definition is motion, process, Becoming; and how can Becoming ever attain to Being? But this paradox is no more than one aspect of the whole paradox of the *Philebus*, which seeks and finds Being in the midst of the world of Becoming and thus rises above the old antithesis between the two worlds. There is a way in which *γινόμενα* can become *ὄντα*.⁶ For pleasure this way is the way of purification, *κάθαρσις*.⁷ It remains for us to determine what purification means in the larger context of the dialogue, and by what it is accomplished.

In 55d-59d Plato gives an analysis of the various arts and sciences from the point of view of their purity. This varies directly with the degree to which they are exact, that is, the degree to which they are susceptible to the use of *measure*. Thus architect-

¹ *Phileb.* 51d.

² The lack, or loss, of knowledge is *ἀναίσθητος καὶ ἄλυπος*, 51b, 52a.

³ *Rep.* 584ab.

⁴ *Rep.* 586a, *βεβαίον τε καὶ καθαρῶς ἡδονῆς*.

⁵ *Phileb.* 52c.

⁶ Cf. 26d *γένεσιν εἰς οὐσίαν*, 27b *γεγενημένην οὐσίαν*. On the whole notion of the "*Verknüpfung von Werden und Sein*" see Stenzel, *Zahl und Gestalt bei Platon und Aristoteles*², Leipzig, 1933, pp. 120-125.

⁷ The word *κάθαρσις* does not occur in the *Philebus*, but is clearly implied by the phrase *ἀκάθαρτοι ἡδοναί*, 52c; cf. 55d.

ture, τεκτονική, is truer and more exact than music because it makes better use of measurement; and the arithmetic of the philosopher in turn is superior to that of the architect because the units of measurement which he employs are abstract and unvarying rather than concrete and variable.¹ Throughout this section of the *Philebus* the concepts of truth, purity, exactness, and measure stand side by side; in fact, they are not separate and distinct qualities, but a series of aspects under which the same fundamental principle is viewed. This principle is called Limit, πέρας. Earlier in the dialogue we learn that all created reality is the product of two basic elements or categories, Limit and the Unlimited (ἄπειρον).² All creation is a process of imposing limits on a substratum which in itself is indeterminate and undefined. This process may be successful in greater or less degree; and on its degree of success depends the perfection or imperfection of the finished product. Thus bodily health, musical harmony, the due proportion of the seasons, are examples of the successful imposition of limit.³ More generally, all symmetry, beauty, and perfection have this cause and no other. Thanks to it they rise out of the world of γένεσις and partake, so far as any created thing can partake, of οὐσία. They are, in short, γεγενημένη οὐσία.

But how does a beautiful and perfect whole exemplify the action of πέρας? First, it has parts, and parts which are clearly articulated and defined. That which is limited has an ascertainable beginning, middle, and end, whereas the unlimited is an undefined continuum in which no parts are distinguished.⁴ Second, in a beautiful and perfect whole the parts stand in due proportion to each other (συμμετρία). And 'due proportion' means in the last

¹ *Phileb.* 56b-e. For the close relation between truth and measurement see *Rep.* 523e-525b, 602cd, and esp. *Polit.* 283c-285c; see also R. G. Bury, *The Philebus of Plato*, Cambridge, 1897, Appendix E, pp. 195-200.

² 23c-26d. The question in what sense, and to what extent, this theory is 'Pythagorean' is irrelevant here. See *Ar. Metaph.* I 6, esp. 987b 25; E. Frank, *Plato und die sogen. Pythagoreer*, Halle, 1923, pp. 124-130, 134-138; Taylor *Comm.* 128-130 (with allowance for Taylor's curious theory that the *Timaeus* is a historical representation of 5th-century Pythagoreanism).

³ 25e-26b.

⁴ 31a; cf. *Soph.* 244e, *Parm.* 153c.

analysis arithmetical or geometrical *ratio*;¹ that is, *συμμετρία* = commensurability.

The bearing of these ideas can best be illustrated from the *Timaeus*. The δημιουργός, when he sets about the creation of a world or cosmic 'animal' (ζῷον) which is to be κάλλιστος τῶν γεγεννημένων,² forms it upon a framework of mathematical proportion. This framework Plato calls the World-Soul; in effect, it is the structure of the cosmos. It embraces the orbits of sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars, set in definite mathematical ratios each to each like the notes of a musical scale.³ This framework of the stars is the most beautiful thing in the world; for as Plato says,⁴ the beauty of any organism resides in its soul. Thanks to it the cosmos is a visible god, a worthy image of the eternal.⁵ Its divine perfection appears above all in its spherical shape; for the sphere is the most perfect and uniform of all geometrical figures, πάντων τελεώτατον ὁμοιότατόν τε αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ σχημάτων.⁶ The sense of τέλειος here is important enough to warrant attention. It might seem from a phrase like ὅλον ὅτι μάλιστα ζῷον τέλειον ἐκ τελέων τῶν μερῶν⁷ that the word means no more than 'complete, having no parts missing'; and undoubtedly this meaning is included in it. But a τέλειον is more than a sum of parts, it is a sum of *commensurate* parts. Thus a τέλειος ἀριθμός, for example the number 6, is τέλειος because it is both the sum and the product of its divisors.⁸ In short, τέλειος

¹ Cf. *Phileb.* 25a, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἰσότητα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἴσον τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ πᾶν ὅτι περ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ἢ πρὸς μέτρον, ταῦτα σύμπαντα εἰς τὸ πέρας ἀπολογιζόμενοι καλῶς ἂν δοκοῖμεν δρᾶν τοῦτο.

² *Tim.* 29a.

³ 35a-36d; see Taylor *Comm.* 136-146. Of course for Plato it is a musical scale, though few of us can hear the music.

⁴ 30a.

⁵ εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ, θεὸς αἰσθητός, μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος, 92c. The Platonic deification of the heavens is well known from *Laws* X and the *Epinomis*. Cf. Aristotle *Περὶ Φιλοσοφίας*, fr. 12 Rose (= Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* II 37. 95), 18, 23, 24; Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 140-143.

⁶ 33b. The sphere is ὁμοιότατον ἑαυτῷ because (a) its radii are all equal, and (b) its curvature is constant; see Taylor *Comm.* 102.

⁷ 32d; cf. 41c.

⁸ The famous 'nuptial number' of *Rep.* 546b is τέλειος in this sense; see

implies *συμμετρία* of the parts to one another and to the whole. This is the reason why a perfect whole neither needs more parts nor can dispense with any it has; for the addition or removal of one term would destroy the system of ratios which makes up the whole. Such is the perfection of the cosmos.¹

Thus the beauty which Plato sees in the cosmos is the result of the application of Limit in the form of mathematical proportion. And the effect upon its creator, the *dieu géomètre*, was the effect which is appropriate to works of beauty: he rejoiced and was well pleased with his creation.² With this we return to our starting point. The purity of a pleasure depends on the purity of its source. Pleasure can be purified, that is, redeemed from the unstable and illusory world of *γένεσις*, only by the imposition of Limit upon the source of pleasure.³

Let us assume for a moment that Aristotle, meditating a reply to Plato's strictures on poetry, began in thought at this point. He might say, "If the pleasure we find in literature *is* impure, mixed with pain and lacking in measure, then Plato is right in condemning it. If poetry is to be saved, the pleasure it gives must be a pure and measured one, free from the admixture of pain. But we cannot ask poetry — at least we cannot ask tragedy — to cease representing painful happenings; for tragedy is either a representation of fearful and pathetic events or it is nothing at all. No, the purification must be effected by the way in which these events are treated by the poet. Therefore let our tragedies be constructed on the principles of measure, limit, proportion. If that is done, the pleasure they give will be pure, and poetry will be justified."

With this provisional sketch of Aristotle's train of thought we turn to chapter 7 of the *Poetics*, where he develops his theory of the *μῦθος* or tragic action. In the first place the action must be

Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, London, 1902, II, notes ad loc. and App. 1 to Book VIII, pp. 264-312. Cf. *Tim.* 39d, τέλειος ἀριθμὸς χρόνου, viz. the 'great year,' the time from one perfect concurrence of the planetary motions to the next.

¹ Its *αὐτάρκεια* is emphasized, *Tim.* 33cd; cf. *Phileb.* 20e, 60c.

² 37c.

³ As L. Stefanini puts it (*Platone*, II, Padua, 1935, pp. 300-302), pleasure is purified by measure, truth, and beauty.

perfect and a whole, *τελεία καὶ ὅλη*.¹ Most of the interpreters assign to *τελεία* here the meaning 'complete in itself';² but it must mean 'perfect,' with all the connotations which attach to the word in the *Timaeus*. For Aristotle says immediately that he means by 'whole'³ that which has its parts arranged in a certain order, *τεταγμένα*. The perfect action has a beginning, middle, and end; that is, it has clearly and definitely articulated parts and is not a mere inchoate mass of events, not an *ἄπειρον*. Furthermore, the middle follows necessarily or probably on the beginning, and the end on the middle; that is, the relation of the parts to one another and to the whole is determined, not left to chance.⁴ Finally, the external completeness or rounding off of the action is guaranteed by the definition of the beginning as that which is not necessarily preceded, and of the end as that which is not necessarily followed, by anything else. These three aspects of the perfect action are summed up by Aristotle in the word *τάξις*. We may add that all three are aspects of the operation of Limit,⁵ which as we know from the *Philebus* is the only true begetter of beauty. And the concept of beauty, so casually introduced in the *Poetics*,⁶ is the master-concept of Aristotle's whole theory of the tragic action.⁷ Now according to the *Metaphysics* the chief constituent elements of the beautiful are *τάξις*, *συμμετρία*, and *τὸ ὠρισμένον*;⁸ and

¹ 1450b 25.

² So Butcher, Bywater, Rostagni.

³ There is certainly no essential distinction between *τελεία* and *ὅλη*, as Gudeman thinks; cf. *Phys.* III 6. 207a 8.

⁴ 1450b 33, *μήθ' ὁπόθεν ἔτυχεν ἄρχεσθαι μήθ' ὅπου ἔτυχε τελευτᾶν*.

⁵ Cf. *Phileb.* 26b, *νόμον καὶ τάξιν πέρας ἔχοντ'*. In *Laws* 668de Plato emphasizes further that the *correctness* of an imitation depends on its having *τάξις*.

⁶ 1450b 35, *ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν κτλ*. The casualness can be explained only by the assumption that the whole Platonic theory of *καλόν* and *τέλεον* and the relation between them would be thoroughly familiar to Aristotle's listeners. Cf. Diels, *Archiv für Gesch. d. Phil.*, I (1888), 494.

⁷ *καλλίστη* is the standing epithet of the best kind of tragedy, 1452b 31, 1453a 19, 23 (cf. *καλλίους μῦθοι*, 1452a 10); of the best kind of recognition, 1452a 32. Probably *καλῶς ἔχειν*, 1447a 10, 1453a 12, should be taken in this specific sense rather than in its vaguer idiomatic meaning.

⁸ XII 3. 1078a 36; cf. *Phileb.* 64e, *μετρίότης γὰρ καὶ συμμετρία κάλλος δῆπου καὶ ἀρετὴ πανταχοῦ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι*; *Ar. Top.* III 1. 116b 21; *Eth. Eud.* I 8. 1218a 15-23.

whether *τάξις* and *συμμετρία* are exact synonyms or not, this formulation may serve to illuminate the brief words of the *Poetics*: τὸ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστίν.¹

The tragic action, then, to be beautiful, must have order and symmetry. But before we try to analyze these ideas any further we must take notice of an old *crux interpretum*, in the words τὸ καλὸν καὶ ζῶον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν. The question is: what is meant by ζῶον? Is Aristotle referring to a picture or statue, as Susemihl thought, or to a living organism? Most of the recent commentators accept the second interpretation,² and dilate on the notions of 'organic unity' and the analogy between a poem and a living whole. And the analogy is strengthened by a familiar passage of the *Phaedrus*, where we are told that a speech ought to have the unity of a ζῶον.³ And yet Susemihl's rendering has the advantage of making Aristotle compare one kind of work of art with another.⁴ What is wanted is a ζῶον which is an artistic product and at the same time a living creature. Now this is precisely the meaning of ζῶον in the *Timaeus*. The cosmos itself is the perfect and all-inclusive 'animal' whose soul is the supreme work of the divine artist. Furthermore, the life of the cosmos — and we must remember that for Plato this is in no sense a metaphor, but sober fact — resides in its soul. Life is motion, and the most perfect life is the most perfect motion: the unending, never-varying revolution of the sphere of the fixed stars. It is a paradox, but an all-important one for Plato, that the World-Soul, this geometrical construct, with its bare but pure intervals, its eternally beautiful

¹ The correspondence, or lack of it, cannot be pressed too far. It is evident from *Tim.* 30a and 69b that *τάξις* and *συμμετρία* were equivalent for Plato. Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, p. 180, is certainly wrong in saying, "In the beauty of a *mûthos* there is no room for the idea of *συμμετρία*."

² Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory* 186-190, esp. 188 n. 1; Bywater *op. cit.* 178-179; Rostagni *Poet.* 30; implied by Gudeman, *Aristoteles Περὶ Ποιητικῆς*, Berlin, 1934, p. 195, on 1451a 3. It is certainly difficult, even for purposes of argument, to imagine a picture or a statue measuring *μυρία στάδια*.

³ 264c, δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῶον συνεστάναι σώμα τι ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μήτε ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτε ἄπουν, ἀλλὰ μέσα τε ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα, πρέποντα ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα.

⁴ There is also the difficulty of understanding how an animal can be said to give an *οἰκεία ἡδονή*, 1459a 20. See below, p. 194.

proportions, is far more truly and richly alive than the bundle of appetites and passions which we call a human soul. Mathematics is the true fountain of life; what we moderns should call 'vitality' is only death and chaos. So true is this that even men and animals partake of life by grace of geometry, and that part of our souls is best which most nearly imitates the motions of the heavenly spheres.¹

This is the framework of ideas which explains Aristotle's comparison of a tragedy to a ζῶον; for the point of the comparison lies in ζῶον as equivalent to 'exactly ordered whole,' not in ζῶον as 'animate being.' In short, Aristotle *is* thinking of a work of art, though not of human art. The clearest and most useful example for us is the cosmos itself, because in it the production of beauty is best revealed; but other animals are not excluded.²

We must quote here another remark of Aristotle's which has not been taken as seriously as it deserves: ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἶον ψυχῇ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγωδίας.³ This comparison is not a mere vague metaphor; for the action is the structure of the tragedy exactly as the World-Soul was the structure of the world,⁴ and, like it, the seat of its beauty. Now the beauty and perfection of the cosmos rested on the mathematically proportioned arrangement of its parts. The heavenly spheres were terms in a musical scale, with their place in the whole rigidly determined, 'limited' in Plato's sense.⁵ Of course this scheme cannot be carried over bodily into tragedy. The *Oedipus Rex* cannot quite be reduced to 1 : 3 :: 3 : 9 :: 9 : 27. Yet the demands which Aristotle actually makes are

¹ *Tim.* 44b. That this might take place more easily, the head was made spherical, 44d; and so on. A. E. Taylor, *Plato, the Man and his Work*, New York, 1936, p. 454, characterizes the whole biology and physiology of the *Timaeus* as "natural science reduced in principle to geometry."

² According to the *Timaeus* the creation of the subordinate ζῷα was entrusted to subordinate gods, 41a ff. Elsewhere Plato speaks more loosely: in *Rep.* 596c, *Soph.* 265c, only one god is mentioned.

³ *Poet.* 6. 1450a 37.

⁴ The reason for οἶον is that after all the tragedy is *not* a ζῶον but only like one. Of the two classes, ζῶον and πρᾶγμα δὲ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν, a drama strictly belongs to the second (I take Bywater's view (p. 179) that there are two classes and not one, i.e. that πρᾶγμα, etc., is not a mere amplification of ζῶον). It would fall under Plato's term σκεύη, *Rep.* 596c.

⁵ Cf. *Phileb.* 17d, τοὺς ὁροὺς τῶν διαστημάτων. The use of ὅρος is significant.

not much less exacting. Each event in the tragic chain must be fixed so firmly in its place that it cannot be dropped out or put elsewhere without destroying the whole.¹ The remark is mathematical, not biological, in conception, and would serve very well to characterize a continuous proportion.² In short, this peculiar law of poetic causality bears a greater resemblance to the law of cosmic proportion than to any distinctively physiological principle. Aristotle has turned Plato's own doctrine against him: if the wayward course of ordinary events is set in strict order, it becomes possible to say of a series of human actions that it is a beautiful whole.

So much for the principle of *τάξις*; we turn to the other element which is needed in a perfect action, namely *μέγεθος*. It seems clear that this is Aristotle's own addition to the theory of the beautiful; but again the framework of his thought is Platonic.³ The tragic action must be neither too long nor too short, but have a length which is *εὐμνημόνευτον*, as a *καλὸν ζῶον* must be *εὐσύνοπτον*. The

¹ 1451a 32. Cf. above, p. 186.

² Similarly, *Tim.* 32a, *τὸ μέσον, ὅτι περὶ τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς αὐτό, τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ πάλιν αὖθις, ὅτι τὸ ἔσχατον πρὸς τὸ μέσον, τὸ μέσον πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον*, would serve to summarize the doctrine of the *ἀρχή*, *μέσον*, and *τελευτή* of tragedy.

³ The fact that Aristotle advances arguments for his doctrine of *μέγεθος*, whereas he had advanced none for *τάξις*, seems to indicate that the former is new. So far I agree with Gudeman (p. 194). But that there is "not the slightest trace of it" in Plato is hardly correct. One must distinguish between two ideas which are interwoven rather confusingly in Aristotle's remarks: (1) that the action must have 'size,' i.e. that it must be large rather than small; and (2) that it must have the *proper* size, neither too large nor too small. In the first case the meaning of *μέγεθος* is absolute (= 'bigness'); in the second it is relative. We may grant that *μέγεθος* in the first sense has nothing specifically Platonic about it (nor specifically Aristotelian, for that matter, since as Gudeman shows it rests on a common Greek conception) without damaging our case in the slightest. The second sense is the important one; and it certainly has a basis in Plato. Cf. above, p. 185 n. 8. In the *Laws*, 737e ff., the number 5040 is set as an eternal limit on land allotments because it is a kind of perfect number, being divisible by every number between 1 and 12 except 11. See esp. 741ab for its connection with beauty and the good. *Μέγεθος* in this sense obviously has a close relation to limit and order. Cf. *Metaph.* 1078a 36 (above, p. 187) *τὸ ὠρισμένον*, which Ross thinks refers to external size.

best commentary on these terms is a passage in the third book of the *Rhetoric*, where Aristotle says that the prose period is a unit of expression which has a beginning and end in itself and a μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον; and that such a unit is pleasing and easy to remember: pleasing because it is the opposite of the unlimited, easy to remember because it has a number by which it is measured.¹ The Platonic obligations here are obvious. The period is a quantity of prose which by the imposition of limit has been rescued from the chaos of the ἄπειρον and thereby made intelligible and pleasing to the hearer. Just so the poet, by setting a limit of length to his work, rescues it from the infinity of details² which might have been included and makes it an intelligible and pleasing whole. This goes somewhat beyond the principle of a determined beginning and end; for as Aristotle says later, the Trojan War had a beginning and an end, yet it remained for Homer to set a proper limit on his poem and so make it a perfect whole.³

But we need not rely on the *Rhetoric*. Aristotle calls his prescription of the proper length for a tragedy a ἱκανὸς ὅρος.⁴ This has commonly been taken to mean a rough limit, sufficient for the present — as if Aristotle had not explicitly contrasted it with the inexact and accidental (οὐ τῆς τέχνης) method of fixing the length of a play according to the exigencies of the competition, or the patience of the audience. Now not only is ὅρος good Platonic language for a governing norm, but as Jaeger has shown, Aristotle himself had used it in the *Protrepticus* in that sense, to designate the absolute norms by which the true statesman is guided.⁵ The

¹ *Rhet.* III 9. 1409a 35, λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον. ἡδεῖα δ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ εὐμαθὴς, ἡδεῖα μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν τῷ ἀπεράντῳ, καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ τι οἶεται ἔχειν ὁ ἀκροατὴς τῷ αἰεὶ πεπεράνθαι τι αὐτῷ. τὸ δὲ μηδὲν προνοεῖν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀνύειν ἀηδὲς. εὐμαθὴς δὲ ὅτι εὐμνημόνευτος. τοῦτο δέ, ὅτι ἀριθμὸν ἔχει ἢ ἐν περιόδοις λέξεις, ὃ πάντων εὐμνημονευτότατον. διὸ καὶ τὰ μέτρα πάντες μνημονεύουσι μᾶλλον τῶν χύδην· ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ἔχει ὃ μετρεῖται.

² *Poet.* 1451a 16, πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρα.

³ 1459a 30. Μετριάζοντα (or μετριάζων, proposed by Gudeman from the Arabic version) must have this specific sense of 'proper limit' and not the vaguer one of 'moderate limits' (Butcher). So also τῷ τοῦ μετρίου μήκει, 1462b 7 (τοῦ μετρίου Butcher, συμμέτρῳ Bernays; τοῦ μέτρου codd.).

⁴ 1451a 14; repeated in connection with the epic, 1459b 19.

⁵ Jaeger *Aristoteles* 86-92. The statesman receives these norms ἀπὸ τῆς

Protrepticus belongs to Aristotle's earliest period, in the Academy, when he was full of the Platonic ideal of ethics and politics as normative sciences. For him, as for Plato in the *Politicus*, the statesman's function was to regulate human affairs by the divine science of measurement.¹ One aspect of this normative view of politics appears in striking form in the seventh book of the *Politics*: the 'most beautiful city' has an optimum size which is determined by a *ōros* or *μέτρον*.² Exactly parallel is the thought and terminology of the *Poetics*. For *ικανός* here does not mean 'rough,' 'sufficient for the present,' but 'perfect,' 'completely adequate.' In the *Philebus* the word is a synonym of *τέλεος*. For example, the good life is *ικανός καὶ τέλεος*; and in the hierarchy of goods listed at the end of the dialogue the second class comprises *τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλεον καὶ ἱκανόν*.³ Finally, in one place the category of Limit itself receives the epithet *ικανόν*.⁴ It seems clear, in short, that Aristotle has applied to poetry the same normative ideal which he had applied to politics and ethics, and conceives of the poet as using the art of measurement in handling his material.⁵ The *ικανός ὀρος τοῦ μεγέθους* is one of the truly exact and adequate

φύσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, [Iambl.] *Protr.* p. 55, 2 Pistelli; cf. *Poet.* 1451a 9, ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος ὀρος. There can be no doubt that this use of *ōros* has a mathematical origin. See P. Causer in *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXII (1920-24), 169-173; B. Einarson, "On Certain Mathematical Terms in Aristotle's Logic," *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), 34-35.

¹ Pl. *Polit.* 284bc. Cf. the fragment of Aristotle's *Politicus*, Book II (fr. 79 Rose), πάντων γὰρ ἀκριβέστατον μέτρον τάγαθόν ἐστιν, with Pl. *Laws* 716c, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῖν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἂν εἴη μάλιστα.

² *Pol.* VII 4. 1326a 34-37. The seventh book belongs to the original sketch of the ideal state (Assos period) and draws some of its material from the *Protrepticus*: Jaeger *Aristoteles* 273-275, 289-302. It should be noted that the famous reference to the *Poetics*, *Pol.* 1341b 39, is in Book VIII, which is a part of the same stratum. See below, p. 203 n. 2.

³ *Phileb.* 22b and 66b respectively; cf. 20d, 60c, 65a, 67a, *Polit.* 284d, *Tim.* 41c. On this meaning of *ικανός* and its relation to *τέλεος* see Bury *Phileb.* 212.

⁴ 30c; cf. 19e, *Laws* 772b.

⁵ This is an important part of the *philosophical* character of poetry, which Aristotle regards as a logical consequence of the concept of the *τελεία πράξις*: 1451a 36, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων κτλ. The question of the relationship between truth and beauty, philosophy and poetry, must be reserved for a later discussion; but see below, p. 202 n. 3.

norms by which the poet is guided in the production of beauty, a norm which governs the external proportions of a tragedy as the internal proportions were governed by the law of order.¹

To sum up: thanks to the internal and external limits imposed by the poet on his material there emerges a tragic action which is, like a *καλὸν ζῶον*, a perfect whole and a thing of beauty. It remains for us to define the material on which these limits are imposed. On this question the definition of tragedy is less immediately helpful than certain other passages. Aristotle says in chapter 9: οὐ μόνον τελείας ἐστὶ πράξεως ἢ μίμησις ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν.² Again, he says that the best form of recognition, namely that which is combined with a peripety, ἢ ἐλεον ἔξει ἢ φόβον, οἷων πράξεων ἢ τραγωδία μίμησις ὑπόκειται, "it will contain either pity or fear, and it is of such actions that tragedy, according to our definition, is an imitation."³ Now ὑπόκειται certainly refers to the definition of tragedy in chapter 6. The 'pity and fear' of the definition are therefore actions or happenings, *πράξεις*. In other words, the famous phrase *ἔλεος καὶ φόβος* is equivalent to *ἐλεεινὰ καὶ φοβερά*, and means 'pathetic and fearful events.'⁴ The bearing of this fact becomes clearer in chapter 14, where Aristotle lays down the rule that pity and fear must be produced by the action itself and not by any accidental or extraneous means; οὐ γὰρ πᾶσαν δεῖ ζητεῖν ἡδονὴν ἀπὸ τραγωδίας ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου διὰ μιμήσεως δεῖ ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζειν τὸν ποιητὴν, φανερόν ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμποιεῖται.⁵ In other words, pity and fear,

¹ Cf. *ικανῶς* in 1459b 13, *περιπετειῶν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεων καὶ παθημάτων*. *ἔτι τὰς διανοίας καὶ τὴν λέξιν ἔχειν καλῶς*. οἷς ἅπασιν "Ὅμηρος κέχρηται καὶ πρῶτος καὶ *ικανῶς*. Castelvetro and Twining saw that *ικανῶς* here must mean 'perfectly'; but the later editors have not followed them. Butcher translates: "Homer is our earliest and sufficient model"; and Gudeman speaks of "*dem abschwächen den iκανῶς*" and says that the superlative meaning is "*nirgends nachweisbar*." Cf. also 1449a 8, *ἂρ' ἔχει ἤδη ἡ τραγωδία τοῖς εἵδεσιν ικανῶς ἢ οὐ* (Butcher, "Whether tragedy has as yet perfected its proper types or not").

² 1452a 1; cf. 1452b 32.

³ 1452a 38.

⁴ This equivalence is recognized by many of the editors, e.g. Bywater, Rostagni, and Gudeman; but so far as I can see they have not followed out its implications.

⁵ 1453b 10-14.

and the pleasure which derives from them, must be made intrinsic, inherent in the action as a whole¹ if tragedy is to give its *οικεία ἡδονή*.

Here a question of interpretation presents itself. What is the *οικεία ἡδονή* of tragedy? The question is complicated by the fact that Aristotle later ascribes a similar pleasure to the epic: *δεῖ τοὺς μύθους καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις συνιστάναι δραματικούς καὶ περὶ μίαν πράξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν, ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος, ἕν' ὥσπερ ζῶον ἐν ὅλῳ ποιῆν τὴν οἰκείαν ἡδονήν*.² The trouble is that these prescriptions for the epic are borrowed — as Aristotle himself clearly indicates — almost verbatim from the chapters on tragedy. Hence the commentators have been a good deal puzzled to distinguish the 'pleasure proper to tragedy' from the 'pleasure proper to the epic.'³ The difficulty has arisen from a misinterpretation of the word *οικεία*. It will be remembered that in the *Philebus* Plato had characterized pure geometrical forms and pure musical sounds as sources of *ἡδοναὶ οἰκεῖαι* or *σύμφυτοι*.⁴ Just so Aristotle means by *οικεία ἡδονή*, not a pleasure that is peculiar to tragedy as tragedy or epic as epic, but one that is inherent in and proper to any serious literary work which has a pure and perfect form.⁵ Any tragedy

¹ *Πράγματα* here is equivalent to *συστάσις τῶν πραγμάτων*, 1453b 2; cf. 1450a 22, 37, 1453b 5, 1454b 6, 1456a 20.

² 1459a 18-21.

³ Thus Gudeman says, p. 388: "*Danach erregen Tragödie, Komödie und Epos verschiedene, ihnen allein zukommende ästhetische Lustempfindungen. Welcher Art diese aber waren, hat A. zu erläutern leider unterlassen.*" Rostagni, *Poet.* 94-95, contradicts himself by saying that each kind of *μίμησις* produces a special kind of pleasure, but that the difference between the tragic and the epic pleasure is after all only quantitative, not qualitative. Butcher seems to fall into the same confusion, pp. 212-213.

⁴ Above, pp. 182-183.

⁵ That is, the reference of *οικεία* is not to the species 'tragedy' or 'epic,' but to the genus 'serious work of art'; and this must be kept in mind if the word is translated 'proper.' But the notion of *inherence* in the action, the form of tragedy, is equally present and must be equally emphasized. The *οικεία ἡδονή* is the only one which is produced by the action as such (*ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τῶν πραγμάτων*, 1453b 2), the only one which can be got from a bare reading or hearing of the plot, without benefit of *ᾠς* or *μελοποιῖα*.

The question whether comedy has an *οικεία ἡδονή* of this kind must be left to one side here; for it involves a series of very difficult problems. See

or epic which is constructed according to the laws of artistic form laid down in the *Poetics* will give this sort of pleasure. Tragedy does not produce a different pleasure from the epic, but the same pleasure in purer and more concentrated form. In Aristotle's words, it surpasses the epic τῷ τῆς τέχνης ἔργῳ· δεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρημένην.¹ That is, the two *genres* have the same end, the production of the pleasure proper to a work of art;² and tragedy accomplishes this end more perfectly by reason of its greater brevity and concentration of form.³

The true pleasure given by a tragedy or an epic poem, then, flows from its perfection of form as surely as the pleasure given by a statue or a painting or a melody.⁴ Yet form cannot be abstracted from content. As Aristotle says, the pleasure given by tragedy is that which "derives from pathetic and fearful events through representation of them." In other words, the tragic pleasure stems from the emotional material of tragedy as well as from its artistic form. In this Aristotle is following Gorgias and Plato: he accepts as a premise of his theory the view that pity and fear are the characteristic tragic emotions, and that the excitation of them in the theatre is pleasurable to the audience.⁵ Thus one can take everything that Plato says in the *Republic* and the *Philebus* on

Lane Cooper, *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, New York, 1922, pp. 60-76, on ἡδονή and γέλως as effects of comedy (these terms from the *Tractatus Coislinianus*).

¹ 1462b 12-14. For the contrast of οἰκεία and τυχοῦσα (implied also in πᾶσαν ἡδονήν, 1453b 10) cf. *Pol.* VIII 5. 1339b 32; *Eth. Nic.* VII 12. 1153a 21.

² Τέχνη in the *Poetics* has quite definitely the sense of 'exact art,' one which works with norms and unvarying standards. The poetic art is therefore, or can be, on a level with the 'exacter arts' mentioned in *Phileb.* 56b (see above, p. 183). Cf. esp. 1447a 20, 1451a 6, 1453a 22, 1454a 10; and see Bywater's index s. v., p. 382.

³ 1462a 18-1462b 11, esp. 1462a 18, τὸ ἐν ἐλάττονι μήκει τὸ τέλος τῆς μιμήσεως εἶναι.

⁴ The comparison with painting, 1450a 38, is precisely in this vein: a simple outline-sketch gives more pleasure than a sunburst of colors laid on χύδην.

⁵ The passage of Gorgias' *Helen*, § 9, is well known: τὴν ποίησιν ἅπασαν καὶ νομίζω καὶ ὀνομάζω λόγον ἔχοντα μέτρον· ἥς τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰσῆλθε καὶ φρίκη περιφοβὸς καὶ ἔλεος πολὺδακρυς. For the probable influence of Gorgias on Plato

the "pleasures of weeping"¹ as a proëmium to the *Poetics*. Aristotle takes it for granted that the audience will get some kind of pleasure from the representation of piteous and alarming scenes; the question is, what kind? So long as the pity and fear inherent in these scenes remain isolated, unattached to the *σύστασις τῶν πραγμάτων* as a whole, the concomitant pleasure is not the *οἰκεία ἡδονή* but an inferior variety, a *τυχοῦσα ἡδονή*. We need not hesitate to supplement the *Poetics* by describing this inferior pleasure, in Plato's terms, as impure and unmeasured. But — and here Aristotle turns Plato's own weapons against him — tragedy is capable of giving a totally different kind of pleasure. The distinguishing of two essentially different varieties of pleasure was one of the greatest triumphs of the *Philebus*; and Aristotle makes full use of it.²

Here we approach the final stage of the problem. The emotional raw material of tragedy, in itself, is impure and refractory; and the pleasure it gives partakes of the same qualities. Very well, the raw material of tragedy must be purified: it must take on the measure and proportion of the form in which it is to be contained. But before we try to determine what this means, a preliminary misunderstanding has to be cleared away. The definition of tragedy appears to state that the catharsis is accomplished by pity and fear; and there has been a good deal of puzzlement how pity and fear can purify — or rather, as the problem is usually put, how

and Aristotle see M. Pohlenz, "Die Anfänge d. griech. Poetik," *Nachr. d. Götting. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, 1920, pp. 169-172.

The question whether pity and fear are the *only* tragic emotions recognized by Aristotle, or whether *τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων*, 1449b 27, implies others as well, is fruitless, since they are the only ones of which he actually takes account in the *Poetics*. *Τὸ φιλόανθρωπον*, 1452b 38, etc., is the general basis of pity and fear rather than a full tragic emotion in its own right: a plot which inspires only *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον* is not really tragic. See U. Galli, "Il concetto di *φιλόανθρωπον* secondo la 'Poetica' di A.," *Atene e Roma*, N. S. XII (1931), 243-253. Rostagni overemphasizes the *φιλόανθρωπον*, *Poet. Introd.* XLIX-LI.

¹ Above, p. 182.

² The distinction needs all possible emphasis because the medical theory of catharsis completely ignores it. Butcher quite rightly makes use of it, pp. 267-268; but in the next breath he apologizes for it as not Aristotelian but only a "natural outcome" of A.'s doctrine.

they can purge — themselves. This unnecessary dilemma is perhaps due, at least in part, to a mechanical cause. The fact is that Aristotle, in order to get all the *differentiae* of tragedy into his definition and at the same time to reserve the most important element for the end, has interpolated the specifications relating to language and manner of imitation between the catharsis-clause and its subject. Hence arose the now inveterate habit of centering all one's attention on the catharsis-clause itself and neglecting everything that goes before. To get at Aristotle's meaning one has to read the two important parts of the sentence as a whole: ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, . . . δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, "tragedy is a representation of a serious action which is perfect and has a determined length, . . . (a representation) which, working through the medium of pathetic and fearful scenes, accomplishes the purification of such emotional material." That is, the purification is brought about, not by pity and fear, but by the *μίμησις*,¹ or more exactly by the *μίμησις τελείας πράξεως*. The ultimate agent, of course, is the *τελεία πρᾶξις* itself, which as the 'soul' of the tragedy must be the cause of whatever work it performs.² The matter could be put very well by saying that pity and fear (that is, pathetic and fearful scenes) are the material cause, and the 'representation of a perfect action' the formal cause, of catharsis; but since Aristotle himself does not use these terms, it is best to avoid them and their implications.

The quality which is impressed on the tragic material by the agency of the *μίμησις τελείας πράξεως* is best summarized by a phrase from the *Tractatus Coislinianus*: [ἡ τραγωδία] συμμετρίας θέλει ἔχειν τοῦ φόβου.³ I see no reason to doubt that this is a reminiscence of the lost second book of the *Poetics*, in which it seems

¹ This view, that the subject of *περαίνουσα* is *μίμησις*, is championed by Otte, *Neue Beiträge zur Arist. Begriffsbestimmung d. Tragödie*, Berlin, 1928, pp. 15-21; rejected, on insufficient grounds, by Gudeman, p. 165. Otte rightly emphasizes the importance of the representation as the agent; but he does not connect it with the notion of a 'perfect action.'

² Cf. *De An.* II 4. 415b 7-21.

³ Kaibel, *Com. Graec. Fragm.*, I, Leipzig, 1899, p. 50; J. Kayser, *De Veterum Arte Poet. Quaest. Select.*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 6.

likely that the whole theory of catharsis was discussed and justified.¹ The form of expression is Aristotelian,² and the idea equally so. Tragedy, then, strives to attain a symmetry or due proportion of the passions. This is not an ethical concept;³ and it does not mean simply that pity and fear are reduced to moderation, but that they are impregnated with the measure and beauty of the drama as a whole. And this in turn means that the tragic material must follow the law of 'necessity or probability'; for, as we have seen, that is the guise which measure and proportion assume in the internal workings of a tragedy. As Aristotle says, events are most fearful and pathetic *ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν δι' ἄλληλα*.⁴ The catastrophe is truly pathetic, in fact, only when it could not have been otherwise. The true tragic emotion is dependent on that sense of inevitability which in another aspect is the prerogative of beauty. So it is that the fall of Oedipus, as Sophocles sets it before us, is beautiful. The emotional material implicit in his story, which in itself was raw and undigested, has been made a

¹ That there was a second book is proved by the all-important words discovered at the end of Riccardianus 46 (Landi, *Riv. di Fil.*, N. S. III (1925), 551-555): *περὶ δὲ ἰάμβων καὶ κωμῳδίας* (γραψ?). . . McMahon's arguments against it ("On the second Book of Aristotle's *Poetics* . . .," *H. S. C. P.*, XXVIII (1917), 1-46) are therefore superseded.

This is surely the explanation of the reference in the *Politics*, VIII 7. 1341b 38: *τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον*. The reference has precisely the same form as those in the *Rhetoric* (listed by Gudeman, p. 6), which no one, except Gudeman, doubts are to the *Poetics*. Finsler's notion that *ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς* must mean "in the section of the *Politics* on poetry" (*Platon u. d. A. Poet.* 4-7) rests on a *petitio principii*: catharsis is a politico-ethical concept; the *Poetics* ignores politics and ethics; hence the reference is to the *Politics*. Cf. Rostagni *Poet.* Introd. XXVII, XLII.

² Cf. *Poet.* 1448a 17, *ἡ μὲν γὰρ* [i.e. κωμῳδία] *χείρους ἢ δὲ* [i.e. τραγωδία] *βελτίους μιμεῖσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν*; 1449b 12, *ἡ μὲν* [i.e. τραγωδία] *ὅτι μάλιστα πειράται ὑπὸ μιᾶν περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι*; Bonitz, *Index Arist.*, 140b 41, s.v. *βούλεσθαι*.

³ Rostagni, *Poet.*, Introd. XLVI n. 1, insists quite rightly that *συμμετρία* is the essence of catharsis; but unfortunately he takes it to mean that the tragic emotions are "*purificati dei loro eccessi e ridotti in misura utile per la virtù, come vuole la dottrina etica di Aristotele sulle passioni*" (note on 1449b 23-27, p. 22).

⁴ 1452a 2.

part of the measured and ordered pace of the drama. The colloquy with the Corinthian shepherd sends a thrill of horror through us; but at the same instant, thanks to Sophocles' art, we feel the rightness of the moment: that it has come neither too early nor too late nor wrongly in any way, but exactly as and when it must within the framework of this tragedy. There is a perfect congruence between tragic emotion and tragic structure. Something of this kind must be Aristotle's meaning; though for the details there cannot be any certainty.

The same must be said for the question just how the tragic catharsis is related to the *οἰκεία ἡδονή*. For the psychological intricacies of the problem we are reduced to conjecture.¹ All we can say is that the two must be so very closely interconnected as to be indistinguishable for practical purposes. Logically, no doubt, the purification is a prerequisite of the pleasure; but this certainly does not mean that it precedes it in time or is a separate process. Rather the relation is like that which Aristotle establishes between *ἐνέργεια* and *ἡδονή* in the *Nicomachean Ethics*: each *ἐνέργεια* has its *οἰκεία ἡδονή* which crowns and completes it,² yet *συνεξεῦχθαι μὲν ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ χωρισμὸν οὐ δέχεσθαι· ἄνευ τε γὰρ ἐνεργείας οὐ γίγνεται ἡδονή, πᾶσάν τε ἐνέργειαν τελειοῖ ἡ ἡδονή*.³ And so we must leave it; catharsis and pleasure are inseparable.

The crux of the matter is that the poetic catharsis is primarily an artistic rather than a psychological process.⁴ It takes place essentially in the tragedy when it is composed, not in the soul of the spectator when he sees it performed. This does not mean that it has nothing to do with the spectator; but it does mean that it

¹ So far I agree with Gudeman, p. 172: "Wie sich nun aber A. den ganzen Vorgang psychologisch zurechtgelegt hat, ignoramus et ignorabimus."

² *Eth. Nic.* X 4. 1174b 31.

³ *Ibid.* 1175a 19.

⁴ This view goes back at least to Goethe (*Nachlese zu Aristoteles' Poetik*, 1826), but has been maintained most fully — though on grounds different from those presented here — by H. Otte (chief work *Neue Beiträge*, cited above, p. 197; for complete list see Cooper-Gudeman's *Bibliography*, New Haven, 1928). Unfortunately Otte goes to the impossible extreme of denying that catharsis has anything to do with the effect of tragedy, which is simply the universal pleasure men take in imitations (*Poet.* 4. 1448b 8).

has nothing to do with a cure or treatment of him. The reproach which some have levelled against Aristotle,¹ that he has introduced a subjective criterion into his definition of a work of art, where it does not belong, is not really deserved. For in fact Aristotle is not interested in the subjective states of mind of the spectator, but in the objective end of tragedy, the work it must do in order to fulfil its own nature. Unavoidably, this end must be anchored in something. The making of a tragedy implies a spectator, as a statue is made to be seen and a piece of music to be heard.² But it does not necessarily imply the individual member of the audience, with all his idiosyncrasies and imperfections. In the *Poetics* the spectator is present not as a man but as an ideal destination, a fixed point of reference toward which the work is aimed; it is assumed implicitly that when it reaches this point the psychological effect will follow as a matter of course. Not, perhaps, for the groundlings; but Aristotle did not shape his theory for them.³

This ideal spectator is not the *παθητικός* described in the *Politics*,⁴ who needs relief from his passions; and it is not the true function of tragedy to give such a relief. Pity and fear are not first set loose in all their painful reality, to prey on the spectator's soul, and then somehow exorcised;⁵ they are purified in the

¹ Summarized by Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory* 207-210.

² Even this argument is true of the best Greek art only in a limited sense. The peculiar squareness of an archaic statue corresponds to an inherent geometrical principle rather than to any striving for a specific visual effect. The Parthenon frieze is not calculated for the eye of any particular — at least of any earthly — spectator. In a very genuine sense it was meant to *be* rather than to *be seen*.

³ Cf. his remarks on the two kinds of spectator, *Pol.* VIII 7. 1342a 19; on the *ἀσθένεια* of the audience, *Poet.* 1453a 33; his curt dismissal of *μελοποιῖτα* and *δῦσι* as *ἡδύσματα*, 1450b 16; and his evasive answer to Plato's depreciation (*Laws* 658d) of the theatre audience, 1462a 11, where he says that tragedy *can* convey its effect through reading. Clearly he is thinking of an ideal reader (i.e., himself?), a man of taste and perception. Cf. Butcher *op. cit.* 212-214.

⁴ *Pol.* 1342a 12.

⁵ That is, the poetic catharsis, unlike the musical catharsis (*Pol.* 1342a 10, *καθισταμένους ὥσπερ ἰατρίας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως*), does not depend on a 'motion' or on any effect of contrast (see above, p. 181), and so is not relative.

same moment that they are aroused, by their incorporation into the beauty and measure of the perfect whole. In this purified state they are the basis — the indispensable basis — of the pure pleasure which a great tragedy calls forth in the soul.¹

Such is Aristotle's theory of the beauty of tragedy. It may be objected that after all the theory is more intellectual than aesthetic: that 'order,' for example, as Aristotle conceives it, has more resemblance to the neatness and economy of a syllogism or a mathematical theorem than to any specifically aesthetic principle. And it is true: judged by modern standards Aristotle's conception of beauty is bare, austere, and over-intellectualized. It has no room for magic of language or chiaroscuro of mood or richness of individual detail. It does not do justice to the *Agamemnon* or the *Bacchae*, much less to *Romeo and Juliet* or *Lear*. It insists on plot, plot, and again plot, because the plot is precisely the element which is most accessible to analysis and synopsis — that is, to the eye of the mind. Even the emotional material of the drama must submit to this discipline and be intellectualized.² But the objection is one that lies equally against Plato's whole aesthetic theory, from which Aristotle's was derived. In the Platonic hierarchy of beauty the *καλαί ἐπιστήμαι* occupy the next rank below the *καλόν* itself;³ and the part of our souls which strives upward towards true Beauty is the immortal part, the reason. Even the pure sensuous pleasures of the *Philebus* (51) are more intellectual than sensuous, for their sources are those objects in

Aristotle points out, *Eth. Nic.* X 3. 1173b 15 (cf. VII 12. 1152b 36), that on Plato's own showing certain pleasures, viz. the 'pure pleasures' of the *Philebus*, are not *γενέσεις*.

¹ Doubtless the ultimate explanation of the connection between the tragic pleasure and the soul which receives it lies in the affinity of the soul with harmony and proportion. Cf. *Pol.* VIII 5. 1340b 17 and Newman's note ad loc. (*The Politics of Aristotle*, Oxford, 1902, III 545). Is it possible that *Poet.* 4. 1448b 20, *κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν . . . τῆς ἀρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ*, has this deeper sense?

² In this sense one can agree with Dyroff, "Über die Aristotelische Katharsis," *B. P. W.*, XXXVIII (1918), 634, that catharsis means a "dematerialization" of pity and fear.

³ *Symp.* 210c.

which form, ratio, harmony shine most clearly through the veils of sense. As Bosanquet says:

It is plain that formal beauty, as recognized in such passages as these, of which all Greek philosophy is full, is constituted by a symbolic relation — a presentation to sense of a principle which is not sensuous.¹

And again:

The exclusion of life and pictures of life, in this passage, from the realm of absolute beauty, to which regularity and unity are essential, is a striking case of the limitation which we have seen to be inherent in Greek aesthetics. The concrete individual unity which underlies the apparent disorder of the beauty of life was not likely to be appreciated until after the same principle had been recognised in the more abstract or formal cases and conditions of its embodiment.²

We may take the last sentence as a *résumé*, not of the achievement of the *Poetics*, but of the direction in which it moves away from Plato. Aristotle is still far from realizing the "concrete individual unity"; but he has begun to apply Plato's victory to the "apparent disorder of the beauty of life." He sees no other way to distil beauty out of the disorder than by following the order of the intelligible world, the order of necessity or probability. Thus if his theory is over-intellectualized it shares that disability with its source. But in any case he has brought a new domain of beauty under subjugation for the first time.³

¹ *History of Aesthetic*², London, 1904, p. 34. The whole of Chaps. III and IV is extraordinarily interesting and suggestive.

² *Ibid.*

³ It is another question how the beauty of a tragedy is related to its truth or intellectual *content* — that is, to what we can learn from it. See Butcher, *op. cit.*, Chap. III, on "Poetic Truth." Butcher makes the catharsis depend ultimately on the universal truth of poetry, p. 266: "The artistic unity of plot . . . reveals the law of human destiny, the causes and effects of suffering." Or again, the spectator "identifies himself with the fate of mankind." But this perhaps emphasizes the philosophical element too much. Aristotle says only that he means by universals "what a given kind of man will necessarily or probably do or say" (1451b 8); he does not say that poetry is philosophy, but only that it is more philosophical than history; and he does not talk about destiny. I think that for him beauty, intelligible form, is the primary element, truth or universality only secondary; but this is not the place for a full discussion.

An important corollary of the argument presented here is that the *Poetics*, or at least its central chapters, in which the ground-work of the theory is laid, is an early work.¹ Just how early — whether it belongs to Aristotle's last years in the Academy or to the Assos period — can be determined, if at all, only by a very close analysis of all the evidence.² But so much can be said: the *Poetics* has the closest affinities with the characteristic late Platonic theory of measure and limit, number and proportion, which is best represented for us by the *Philebus*. Not that it is a direct reply to Plato's dialogue. Besides the difference in literary form, there is the fact that the *Philebus* refers to poetry only briefly and in

¹ This coincides with the judgment of Solmsen, "The Origins and Methods of Aristotle's *Poetics*," *C. Q.*, XXIX (1935), 192-201, though his aims and methods are different.

² The only usable external evidence, so far as I can see, is the reference in the *Politics* (quoted above, p. 198 n. 1), which belongs to the Assos period (see above, p. 192 n. 2; the references in the *Rhetoric* are of no use until its own date, particularly that of the third book, is established). The reference is in the future tense (ἐροῦμεν); but this is almost certainly an indication, not of the respective dates of composition, but of the order in which the various sets of lectures in Aristotle's curriculum followed one another. In any case it seems reasonable to assume that the *Poetics* either existed in some kind of manuscript draft or was planned in Aristotle's mind at the time he wrote the word ἐροῦμεν. The latter is the opinion of Rostagni, *Poet. Introd.* xxvii; he adds that the *Poetics* cannot therefore be removed too far from *Pol.* VIII, but ends after all by assigning it to 334-330, the beginning of the second Athenian period.

Gudeman's opinion (*Poet. Introd.* 6) that *Pol.* VIII refers to the Πραγματεία τῆς τέχνης ποιητικῆς and not to our *Poetics*, because the reference must be to a published work, is incorrect for three reasons:

1. That a published work should be referred to in a lecture without specific indication that it *is* a published work is contrary to Aristotle's established practice.

2. There is no reason to believe that the Πραγματεία was a published work. On the contrary, in Aristotle's usage the word πραγματεία means a lecture-course, a 'subject' in the curriculum; see Bonitz s.v.

3. The Πραγματεία τῆς τέχνης ποιητικῆς is undoubtedly *our Poetics*! Cf. no. 83 of Diogenes Laertius' catalogue, πραγματείας τέχνης ποιητικῆς $\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\beta}$, = no. 75 Hesych. τέχνης ποιητικῆς $\bar{\beta}$. The ποιητικόν (-κά) in one book (no. 119 D. L., 108 Hes.) was doubtless a work on προβλήματα (note its position in the catalogues), not on the theory of poetry.

passing. But the dialogue does have the great value for us of lifting a little of the veil that lies over Plato's later philosophy and allowing us a glimpse of the questions which were investigated and argued in the Academy while Aristotle was a member of it. Out of that circle of ideas the *Poetics* must have grown.

PLAUTUS AND POPULAR DRAMA

BY ALAN McN. G. LITTLE

I

THE form of drama which has come down to us in the fragments of the New Comedy and in the plays of Plautus and Terence has superficially a uniform social pattern. It reflects life among the well-to-do burghers of the Hellenistic city state. It is, in effect, a comedy of manners with a distinctly limited range. This narrowness becomes clearer if we compare the list of the ancient comic masks given by Pollux in his *Onomasticon* with the characters in the plays.¹ Although comedy has a wider choice than the twenty-eight masks of tragedy and comprises forty-four in all, they are distributed, with variations of age, of traits and of sex into three main urban classes — prosperous citizens, household slaves, and courtesans. The list is quite adequate for the plays, but beside the wide range of characters in Old Comedy the contrast is great. The New Comedy types are all drawn from the associations of upper-class intercourse; the focus of the plot is generally upon the love affair of a rich young man, and the climax frequently involves the recognition that his love is no courtesan after all, but was born into the privileges of bourgeois society.

Between the pictures of this same society, however, in Menander and Terence on the one hand, and in Plautus on the other, what a difference of tone! The shattered fragments of Menander's mirror show, as one would expect in an Attic writer, an idealized image. Menander's world is full of sympathetic figures;

ὥς χαρίεν ἐστ' ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ.²

¹ In the *Onomasticon*, IV 133-154, Pollux describes the three categories of ancient mask, tragic (133-142), satyric (142), and comic (143-154). The archaeological evidence, collected by C. Robert, *25th Winckelmannsprogramm*, Halle, 1911, is treated again by O. Navarre, *Le théâtre grec*, Paris, 1925, 214-242 and by A. Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre*, London, 1927, 38-49. For further illustrative material compare M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920, Pl. 48-107, figs. 91-140, 87-175.

² Th. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1888, III 761.

They are civilized, kindly, rational, withal rather melancholy human beings; but they remain types. Sharp realism of character is lacking, as is also the rib-tickling merriment of laughter. At most there is only a playful irony to arouse the "slim feasting smile" of the Comic Spirit.¹ If this is comedy, it is educated, philosophic comedy, compassionate, yet detached. Moreover, its sentimental irony has tragic roots. It is no accident that certain of the comic masks have their doubles in the tragic list, that in physical appearance the actors in comedy share some of the dignity of the tragic figures.² Menander has fulfilled the contention of Socrates that the same man should be capable of writing both tragedy and comedy.³ He has gone farther; he has fused them in his plays. The dramatic conflict has become generalized and tragicomic. It is the conflict not of individual with individual, nor of the individual with himself, but of human beings with Chance, that powerful goddess of the Hellenistic world. When the outcome of the play depends upon the *anagnorisis*, we forget in the happy ending that the motif is itself taken from tragedy and that with its elevation, its philosophic overtones, the New Comedy is hardly comedy at all, but rather the bourgeois rehabilitation of tragedy.⁴

Nor is the Roman companion-piece different in essentials. If Terence has substituted for the Greek ἐπιδεξιότης an atmosphere of *liberalitas*, it is because such was in Roman society its equivalent. If with deliberate art he interweaves two plots in the creation of a new original, it is because he would reinforce the romantic themes and the vaguer

¹ G. Meredith, *An essay on Comedy and the uses of the Comic Spirit*, ed. Lane Cooper, New York, 1918, 141.

² The affinity is most noticeable in the younger sentimental characters: the male types of the πάγχερστος, οὔλος and ἀπαλός, the 'good for all work,' the 'lad with crisp locks,' the 'lad with the delicate air,' are found in both lists; in the female the tragic μεσόκουρος πρόσφατος, the recently violated girl, corresponds to the ψευδοκόρη or pretended maiden of comedy; the κόρη is common to both. Compare for the male types, Bieber, *op. cit.*, Pl. 61 with Pl. 95; for the female, Nicoll, *op. cit.*, figs. 38-39; for the similarity of middle-aged female types, Bieber, fig. 110 with Pl. 90a.

³ Plato, *Symposium* 223 d.

⁴ C. R. Post, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIV (1913), 111-145; M. Andrewes, *Classical Quarterly*, XVIII (1924), 1-10; A. Rostagni, *Arte Poetica di Orazio*, Turin, 1930, Introduction XLVIII-IX. For a reaction against the dependence of Hellenistic comedy on Euripides see the articles of H. W. Prescott, *Classical Philology*, XI (1916), 125-147, XIII (1918), 113-137, XIV (1919), 108-135.

philosophic implications of his Greek models to point a practical Roman moral. If his comedy is lacking in boisterous vigor, it is because it has a distinguished ancestry, being fathered by Menander, and having one grandfather, at least, in Euripides. To the aristocrat Caesar, versed in the originals of Hellenism, the charm of this comedy was in its limpid Latinity; to Caesar the general, patron of the stage, hailed by his rough soldiers as the bald adulterer of the mimes, it lacked the warmer fascination of that ribald air which is breathed by the mass of men.¹

Beside the Attic grace of Menander and the urbanity of Terence, Plautus reeks of hard plebeian vigor. Like his own Grumio in the *Mostellaria* we must suffer him to enjoy his garlic and his lot.² In his hands the same stock characters step lively to the tune of a raucous humor; the same stock intrigues arouse instinctive laughter. This cannot be entirely a matter of temperament in the writer. It is a response to a cruder, more vigorous society, unreflective, demanding its customary coarser fare. Are we then to regard Plautus as seeking in more popular drama material to enliven the plots of New Comedy or as working up from such current forms to a higher type?

If we could be certain that plays of the Plautine blend were unknown in New Comedy, the question could be easily settled, but the evidence of the fragments is slight indeed even for Menander. Those of Philemon and Diphilus, however, to whom the debt of Plautus is self-con-

¹ The famous criticism of Caesar (Suetonius, *Vita Terenti*, preserved in Donatus, *Commentum Terenti*, ed. Wessner, I 7) praises Terence as *puri sermonis amator* (l. 2) but in the expression (ll. 3-4)

*Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,
Comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore.*

deplores his mildness or the lack of whatever vigorous quality *vis* may imply. R. C. Flickinger, *Classical Journal*, XXVI (1931), 686-688; L. A. Post, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXII (1931), 203-234; E. K. Rand, *TAPA*, LXIII (1932), 69.

Caesar (Suetonius, *Divus Julius* LI) was hailed as the *moechus calvus*, a humorous fusion of two stock characters in the mime, the *μοῖχος*, or deceiver and the *μωρὸς φαλακρός*, the mimic fool who is deceived. Cf. Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles*, London, 1931, 87, 119. For his patronage of the mime, see the story of his intervention in the contest between Laberius and Publilius Syrus, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* II 7. 1-11.

² *Mostellaria* 45.

fessed, reveal little coarseness and much the same philosophic tone.¹ Plutarch's comments in the *Moralia* are significant. He makes Diogenianus in *Quaestio Convivialis*, VII 8, remark on the suitability of the New Comedy in general and of Menander in particular for after-dinner reading among gentlemen.² Its erotic themes are admirable for those who will rise from table to join their wives; its moral tone, rejecting the ἔρως ἀπρην, is high. The disasters of its young women characters find a natural solution in marriage; the misfortunes of its more reckless courtesans are softened by the chastened remorse of their young lovers. For the best among them, genuinely in love, a father is conveniently found in a kinsman of their lover, or the lapse of time brings about in him a humane change of heart. In brief, the sharp outlines of life are veiled beneath a gentle sentimentality!

The distinction between educated and popular comedy is carefully made by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and is applied by Plutarch again in the *Moralia* to Menander and Aristophanes.³ To Aristotle crude buffoonery and scurrility are the marks of the old style, of the new the power of humorous suggestion without injurious personalities. In Aristophanes, says Plutarch, the appeal is to the common man; the man of culture is offended by his vulgar, theatrical tone, by his antithetic, bombastic speech. Unlike Menander's witty and refreshing vein, his poetry resembles an old harlot turned respectable; his rascals are inhuman and malignant, his rustics idiotic, his laughter scornful, his handling of love lascivious rather than gay.

The same criticism might apply to Plautus. A majority of his plays avoid the romantic and paint with Hogarthian realism the life of grasping courtesans, the lewdness of debased slaves, the weak profligacy of young men. True also is it that Plautus frequently coarsens his picture into caricature and rejoices in characters which take a beating with the placidity of a circus fool. The laughter which he raises is not

¹ Kock *C A F* II, *Philemon*, for tragic tone, 67, 91, for moralizing or philosophic, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 22, 23, 28, 31, 53, 56, 57, 71-3, 75, 85, 88-90, 92-100, 102-121, 128-137, 140, 148-87, 191-207, 213, 227-40, 246-7; *Diphilus*, for tragic tone, 30, for moralizing or philosophic, 4, 20, 83, 88, 92-4, 99, 102-109, 118. But compare Athenaeus, X 451 b, for an account of indecency in the *Theseus* of Diphilus.

² Ed. Bernadakis, IV 712 B-C.

³ *Eth. Nic.* 1128 a; *Moralia, Aristophanis et Menandri Comparatio*, ed. Bernadakis, V 853, quoted by Gilbert Murray, *Aristophanes*, New York, 1933, 212-215.

thoughtful laughter, but the universal roar which greets a well-known butt. For the subtle sentimentality of the New Comedy he substitutes the *reductio ad absurdum* of the dramatic struggle, namely, farce, involving neither a conflict with Chance, nor even a level match between equals, but only an outright drubbing of one character by another with the odds heavily weighted by the victim's stupidity.

In the effort to discover therein, however darkly, the image of the New Comedy, the text of Plautus has been subjected to so minute a scrutiny that one is tempted to forget the author, his native tradition, and his audience.¹ But a reading of the plays in succession leaves a suspicion that Plautus often put aside the ideals of New Comedy, if indeed he was capable of realizing them, and chose a more popular handling for a rougher audience. His plays are thus of so uneven a texture that, while some approximate to the comic level of his models, others sink to the rowdy slap-stick of the most transitory popular entertainment. It is, therefore, equally legitimate to search as carefully in Plautus for the elements of popular comedy as for those of the higher type. Unlike Aristophanes, whose achievement was to illumine the crudity of popular drama with the gleams of a high poetic imagination, Plautus was faced with the need of rendering intelligible a nobler form to a crasser audience. Like Aristophanes, he adopted a policy of judicious compromise. What, then, are the criteria of popular comedy in general and what were its forms in the Hellenistic world both in the East and in the West?

II

The texture of popular comedy does not vary much at any time. It chooses its material in broadly humorous situations, easily recognizable as of universal application and realistically portrayed. It deals

¹ The attempt of E. Fränkel to isolate in his *Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin, 1922, the characteristic contributions of Plautus himself to his remodelling of the New Comedy has been carried further by G. Jachmann in his *Plautinisches und Attisches*, *Problemata* 3, Berlin, 1931. But in the absence of the Greek originals their conclusions must be supplemented by a study of what the native popular dramatic forms actually were and of the type of audience to which they were addressed. The present article confines itself therefore to a summary of these popular forms and to the indication of the possible influence upon Plautus of a simpler type of drama than New Comedy.

not with the life of serious, sober citizens, but of fools in all their glory. It prefers, therefore, the simple gusto of a slap-stick plot, none the worse if it has been used before. Of its social betters it makes parody, of its equals stock characters towards whom its audience extends a rough, unsentimental affection. It looks for liveliness instead of complexity, irrelevance instead of wit, indecency instead of romance, emotional release instead of intellectual stimulus. In the Hellenistic city state, where a marked cleavage in society had already made itself felt, such drama had drawn away from the upper class comedy and was represented in East and West by the Mime and in Italy also by such indigenous forms as the Greek *Phlyax*, the Oscan Atellan farce, and at Rome probably by that uncertain dramatic genre, the *Satura*.¹

The popularity as well as the indecency of the later Graeco-Roman mime is well attested by the Church Fathers, but except for scattered notices its Hellenistic ancestor has vanished.² The effect of its realism upon Hellenistic literature is represented by the literary mimes of Herodas and by certain of the poems of Theocritus, but for what the mime actually was upon the stage our sole source is in the Oxyrhynchus fragments, and even these belong to Imperial times.³

The action of the larger of these fragments represents the escape of the heroine, Charition, from an Indian tribe where she has been serving as priestess. The characters include also a fool and a chorus of Indians who talk their own language and with their king are plied with wine to make possible escape. The dialogue passes from prose into Sotadean verses and concludes with trochaic tetrameter catalectic. Notation in the margin is given for musical accompaniment, and the whole is punctuated by the irrelevant indecencies of the fool. The plot bears a far off resemblance to that of Euripides' *Iphigenia in*

¹ For the effect of the abolition of the *theorica* on the Hellenistic stage in Athens see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, 73. The standard work on the mime is H. Reich, *Der Mimus*, Berlin, 1903. The evidence both literary and archaeological for the popular forms of drama in antiquity has been collected by Nicoll, in his book *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles*, quoted above; the Dorian mime, 20-37, Sicilian drama, and the Greek mime, 38-50, the *Phlyakes*, 50-65, the Atellan farce, 65-79.

² For the Graeco-Roman mime, see Nicoll, *Masks*, 80-134.

³ Theocritus, II, IV, XV; B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III, London, 1903, 41-57; Nicoll, *Masks*, 115-119.

Tauris and a closer probably to a popular story by Xenophon of Ephesus.¹ The other fragment contains apparently the lines of a stock character in the mime, the jealous adulteress, wrathful against a slave who resists her advances; it indicates the presence of a parasite instrumental in a plot to poison her husband and should be compared with Mime V of Herodas.²

Such dissimilarity of plots shows a wide scope within the mime. Diomedes defines it as an imitation of life embracing both what is proper and what is improper.³ It could either be lengthy, elaborating an *hypothesis* or plot, or short, the *paegnion* form, corresponding to the modern theatrical sketch or vaudeville act.⁴ Its performers went barefoot and perhaps maskless, an aid to realism, and grew in popularity from such bands of strolling players as perform under the control of the Syracusan *archimimos* in the *Symposium* of Xenophon until they included highly paid artists in the Graeco-Roman period.⁵ It contained both spoken parts and sung; the former were termed *βιολόγοι*, *μιμόβιοι*, *ἡθολόγοι*, *μιμολόγοι*, synonymous terms, the latter *μιμῶδοι*.⁶ On uncertain grounds the origin of the sung mime has been assigned to the Ionian east.⁷ The sung mime had two main categories, *ἰλαρωδοί* and *μαγῶδοι*, with a further subdivision of the second class into *λυσιῶδοι* and *σιμῶδοι*.⁸ The hilarodes, dressed in long sweeping garments, travestied tragic themes; the magodes, comic to the accompaniment of cymbals and music, adapting to more popular

¹ For the similarities of plot between this Mime and the *Rudens* of Plautus, B. Warnecke, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, XLIV (1924), 498-501.

² For the second fragment, S. Sudhaus, *Hermes*, XLI (1906), 247-277.

³ *Artis Grammaticae Liber Tertius, Caput de Poematibus*, ed. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, Leipzig, 1857, I, 491.

⁴ Plutarch, *Moralia, Quaestio Convivialis*, VII 8, ed. Bernadakis, IV 712 E.

⁵ Diomedes, Keil, *G. L.* I, 490; Nicoll, *Masks*, 91, 94-99; Xenophon, *Symposium* II 1.

⁶ For the relationship of *βιολόγοι*, *ἡθολόγοι* compare Longinus, *On the Sublime* IX 15.

⁷ E. A. Barber, in *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. J. B. Bury, Cambridge, 1925, 58.

⁸ For the categories of the sung mime, Athenaeus, XIV 620a-f, 621d-e; Nicoll, *Masks*, 34. For their possible relationship to the Plautine cantica, O. Immisch, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie*, philos.-hist. Klasse, Heidelberg, 1923, 1-18. For the *lysiodes*: Athenaeus, II 182c, 211b-c, 252e; Strabo, XIV 1, C. 648; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 36.

taste the same themes which received more dignified treatment on the legitimate stage. The lysiodes, or women impersonating men, and the simodes, males impersonating women, probably contributed an air of indecency to these popularizations.

The spoken mime was an offshoot of Dorian comedy in the west with its home in Syracuse.¹ In his metrical playlets Epicharmus, credited by Plato with being the father of comedy, had combined the two popular traditions — mythological parody and realism.² For the first, the adventures of the Dorian Herakles and the wily Odysseus were favorite themes; for the second, scenes or types from everyday life such as the Temple Visitors, the Fraudulent Soothsayers, the Victorious Athlete, the Rustic.³ In creating prose mimes for men and women characters, Sophron continued both traditions, the first with Prometheus, the second with the Isthmian Celebrators, the Mooninvokers, the Tunnyfisher, the Fisher and the Peasant.⁴ The influence of the same popular Dorian comedy also made itself felt in the East, where the statuettes of the comic slave performers with their leering masks, padded paunches, and grotesque phalloi duplicate types found at Syracuse.⁵ The debt is disdainfully acknowledged in the *Wasps* by Aristophanes, who through the mouth of one of the two prologuizing slaves renounces the "laughter stolen from Megara," its stock types, — the two slaves scattering nuts among the audience, — the hungry Herakles cheated of his dinner —, and its scurrilous personal charges.⁶ But at the same time he indicates perhaps that in the

¹ For the remains of Western Comedy, A. Olivieri, *Frammenti della commedia greca e del mimo nella Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia*, Naples, 1930.

² *Theaetetus* 152e.

³ Olivieri *Framm.* XXV, XX, XXIV, XIX.

⁴ Olivieri *Framm.* 201, 51, 181-182, 10, 175-180, 3-9, 197-199, 46-49, 196-199, 43-45.

⁵ Compare Bieber, *Denk.* Pl. 75, and Pl. 67-71.

⁶ *Wasps* 54-66. Cf. *Acharnians* 738.

φέρει νυν κατέλω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον,
ὀλίγ' ἄθρ' ὑπειπὼν πρῶτον αὐτοῖσιν ταδί,
μηδὲν παρ' ἡμῶν προσδοκᾶν λίαν μέγα,
μηδ' αὖ γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον.
ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος
δοῦλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις,
οὔθ' Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δείπνον ἐξαπατῶμενος,

οὐδ' αὔθις ἀνασελγαίνόμενος Εὐριπίδης·
οὐδ' εἰ Κλέων γ' ἔλαμψε τῆς τύχης χάριν,
αὔθις τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα μυττωτεῦσομεν
ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λογίδιον γνώμην ἔχον,
ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐχὶ δεξιώτερον,
κωμῳδίας δὲ φορτικῆς σοφώτερον.

Knights such drama had been his inspiration. This play takes the form of just such a slave drama, the struggle of the household slaves (humorously disguised as the Athenian Nicias and Demosthenes) to overthrow their master's favorite, Paphlagon or Cleon. Again, in the Parabasis of the *Peace* he refers to the Dorian Herakles and the chastised slaves; in the Poseidon-Herakles incident of the *Birds*, in the fooling Dionysus-Herakles scenes of the *Frogs*, we may see again the influence of the Dorian drama, the κωμῳδία φορτική.¹ It is likely that Middle Comedy drew heavily upon such parodic themes, but at the end of the fourth century the eastern mime had already begun to parody New Comedy itself, the heir of Old Tragedy. Archaeology has provided an indisputable example of its adaptation of upper-class comic themes in the three characters of the Athenian lamp which is inscribed ΜΙΜΟΛΩΓΟΙ Η ΤΠΟΘΗΣΙΣ ΕΙΚΤΡΑ, μιμολόγοι, ἡ ὑπόθεσις, "Ἐκυρα."² This lamp helps explain a considerable group of small dramatic figures in the museums which are generally mistaken for grotesques, but are in reality the characters of Hellenistic popular drama.³ The mime made its first recorded appearance in Rome in 212 B.C., when an old mimic actor maintained by his dancing the continuity of the festival during a popular alarm and gave rise to the saying, *Salva res est, dum cantat senex*.⁴

In the West archaeology again fills up the gaps in the literary tradition. The popular drama continued to flourish right down to the time of Plautus. The West loved its fools. Magna Graecia, especially Tarentum, abounded in popular artists. A short chapter in Athenaeus evokes a whole series; some of them are humble individual performers like the juggler complete with patter, the fire-blower, the sword-dancer; some again are semi-dramatic turns, genuine mimic ethologues, reminiscent of Epicharmus and the Dorian drama, such as Odysseus

¹ *Peace* 739-753. Aristophanes in these lines congratulates himself on having rid Athenian Comedy of the lice jokes, the hungry Herakles, and the beaten slaves, and on having raised in their stead a noble mansion for Comedy as an art. *Birds* 1565-1693; *Frogs* 1-323, 360-673, 738-813.

² C. Watzinger, *Mittheilungen des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abtheilung*, XXVI, 1901, 1-8.

³ G. M. A. Richter, "Grotesques and the Mime," *A. J. A.* II, 1913, 149-156.

⁴ Festus, ed. Lindsay, 436-438.

in trouble talking bad Greek, the drunken Cyclops, or a parody of a pugilist.¹

Such *paegnia* do not, however, represent a very lofty flight of the drama; more developed are the vivid little scenes represented on the so-called *Phlyakes* vases.² With their make-shift stages, their debased and grotesque masks they give us an idea of the performance of strolling players. They are vastly important for the background of Roman comedy. They form a link covering the fourth century between the Syracusan drama and the century of Plautus' birth, when the *Phlyakes* vases cease and their characters reappear in the Gnathia vases whose source is now traced to Tarentum.³ The demonstrable vigor of such performances gives relevance to Horace's judgment on Plautus in the *Epistles*:

*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi (dicitur).*⁴

It is confirmation of the continuity of a western popular comic tradition. We are reminded that in the *Menaechmi* Plautus confesses that the plot of the play *graecissat, tamen non atticissat, verum sicilicissat*; the action of this play, it will be noted, is laid entirely in the western world.⁵

The originator of the *Phlyax*, Rhinthon of Tarentum, is said to have adapted the rhythm of tragic themes for comic effect, τὰ τραγικὰ μεταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὸ γελόιον.⁶ Mere fragments of his works remain, but he was followed by Sciras and Blaesus of Capri, and was copied in Alexandria by Sopater the parodist.⁷ The *Phlyax* vases are, perhaps, an unreliable guide to what may have in his hands taken on a literary polish. Certainly, though they contain mythological and epic parodies, especially of the Dorian hero Herakles and the long-suffering

¹ Athenaeus, I 19b.

² H. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Institut*, I (1886), 260-313; Bieber, *Pl.*, 76-86, figs. 126-133, 138-153; Nicoll, *Masks*, figs. 9, 10, 38-54, 57, 59-64.

³ H. Bulle, *Festschrift für James Loeb*, Munich, 1930, 33-37.

⁴ *Epistles* II 1. 58.

⁵ *Menaechmi*, Prologue 11-12.

⁶ Stephanus Byzantinus, ed. Meineke, 603.

⁷ G. Kaibel, *Poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta* VI 1, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 1, Berlin, 1899, 183-197.

Odysseus, they reproduce very few themes which can be traced to tragic models.¹ Moreover, they include a large group which depict comic incidents from everyday life, in particular that of slaves. It is this class which has the closest affinity to certain popular features in Plautus. The whole category requires classification and an inquiry into their sources of distribution. This has recently been done for a group which comes from Campanian Paestum, the Greek Poseidonia, nearer to Rome than Tarentum.² Upon the state of its drama a fragment of the Tarentine musical writer, Aristoxenus, throws an interesting light.³ It shows us a barbarized theatre in which, owing to Oscan conquest, Greek influence was at a low ebb, just as conversely in Rome in the age of Cato such influence was already making itself felt. In this light the phrase, *Maccus vortit barbare*, takes on a new complexion.⁴ The *Rhinthonica* survived under the Empire; for an idea of its composition we must rely upon the *Amphitruo* of Plautus.⁵

The Atellan farce was another indigenous form of drama, probably Campanian in origin, though it has been claimed as Etruscan.⁶ It cannot, at any rate, have reached a high artistic level. It was a low fooling play of four stock characters, Pappus, the old grandfather, Bucco, the greedy blusterer, Maccus, the poor hungry fool, Dossennus, the wily hunchback. It was adopted from the Oscans by the Romans, and to dress up in these roles delighted even young Roman

¹ Only one can be traced to a definitely tragic model, a parody of the arrest of Antigone, Bieber, *Denk.*, fig. 130, p. 147. But compare Nicoll, *Masks*, 40, fig. 27, for a parody of the Oedipus legend.

² A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, London, 1936.

³ Athenaeus, XIV 632 a-b. "ὅμοιον, φησὶ, ποιούμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς "Ἑλλησιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι, Τυρρηνοῖς [ἢ 'Ρωμαίοις] γεγονόσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων, ἄγειν τε μίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμνησκονται τῶν ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται. οὕτω δὲ οὖν, φησὶ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ θεάτρα ἐκβεβαρβαρῶνται, καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προσελλήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική, καθ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμνησκόμεθα οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική."

⁴ *Asinaria*, Prologue, 11; *Trinummus*, Prologue, 19.

⁵ Donatus, *De Comoedia*, VI, 1; Evanthius, *De Fabula*, IV 1; Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, I 40; W. Teuffel, *Rheinisches Museum*, VIII (1853), 25-50; J. Vahlen, *Rheinisches Museum*, XVI (1861), 472-476.

⁶ Diomedes, *G L* I 489-490; E. Lattes, *Glotta*, II, 1910; 269-270. Compare J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy*, London, 1937, 390-392.

aristocrats.¹ Introduced as an interlude between comedies, it was ousted in Cicero's day by the mime, presumably the *paegnion*.² It is not altogether fanciful, although in no way capable of proof, to see the influence of the South Italian playlets in the title Pappus, to trace perhaps the survival of the Dorian Herakles in the greedy Bucco, of his parasite in Maccus, of the wily Odysseus in Dossennus. A good idea of its type of wit may be gained from the verbal fight of Cicirrus and Sarmentus, the slave entertainers in Horace's fifth Satire.³ Cicirrus, the Oscan name for cock, has been ingeniously claimed by Dieterich as an addition to the family of four, but may well be a survival of a lost animal drama.⁴ The Atellan farce was dignified by attracting the attention perhaps of Sulla, certainly of Pomponius and Novius, who gave it literary form, and show in their fragments a surprising similarity to the language, tone, and innovations of Plautus.⁵ Like the *Rhinthonica* it survived under the Empire;⁶ one of its masks, now in the Museum at Cologne, indicates its popularity with the soldiers on the Rhine.⁷ Its *canticum* could be used on occasion for political satire.⁸

Lastly the *Satura*, for whose existence as a dramatic form the parallel accounts in Livy and Valerius Maximus are evidence.⁹ Without entering for the present into the reliability of these accounts, one may say that the *Satura* as described by these authors has the hall-marks of popular drama.¹⁰ Deriving its title according to Diomedes from the

¹ Livy VII 2.

² *Ad familiares*, IX 16.

³ *Satires* I 5. 52-60.

⁴ A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, Leipzig, 1897, 94-95.

⁵ Athenaeus, VI 261e, records Sulla as a writer of *κωμῳδίαί σατυρικάί* in his own language. These were probably Atellan farces. See Nicoll, *Masks*, 69; Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 120. For the fragments of Pomponius and Novius, O. Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* II, *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1873, 223-272.

⁶ Diomedes, Keil, *G L I* 482; Donatus *De Comoedia*, VI 5; Evanthius, IV 1.

⁷ Bieber, *Denk.* Pl. 108 a.

⁸ Suetonius, *Galba*, XIII.

⁹ Livy, VII 2; Valerius Maximus II 4.

¹⁰ The existence of the *Satura* as a dramatic form has been challenged by F. Leo, *Hermes*, XXIV (1889), 67-74, XXIX (1904), 63-77, and by G. L. Hendrickson, *American Journal of Philology*, XV (1894), 1-30, XIX (1898), 285-311. For the

lanx satura or dish of sacral first fruits, it resembles rough folk-drama, rudely improvised carnival pieces, offered along with the banquet to the gods in *lectisternium*.¹ It took the place of the *haud indecori motus* from Etruria, a form of mimic war-dance.² In the South Italian dramatic vases just such a *lanx* appears several times in the hands of an actor either alone or in attendance on Dionysus.³ Carried in the procession like those symbolic platters heaped with food which precede the mumming scenes in Bruegel's Strife of Carnival and the Fast, it may have given its name also to the performance.⁴ The performance was acted by native slave performers, *vernaculi artifices*, who were called *histriones*; it combined libretto, musical accompaniments and gestures suited to the action. It was marked by broad humor and tomfoolery; it lacked consecutive plot; it could hardly be dignified by the title of art. Its salty Roman flavor, about to be submerged in the advancing *Palliata*, found refuge later in the crude Atellan *exodia*, which, as already remarked, were akin to the mimic *paegnia*. Like the sung mime, the *Phlyax* and the Atellan farce, the *Satura* relied upon its music to heighten the liveliness of its performance. Its main features, its fun, its *risus ac solutus iocus*, its *modi*, make up the total mourned in the epitaph of Plautus:

Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, comoedia luget.
Scaena est deserta ac dein Risus, Ludus, Iocusque
Et Numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.⁵

III

In tracing the influence of the popular drama on Plautus we shall disregard for the time being the attribution of his plays to Greek originals; for we are by no means certain, even if the original is ascribed to

bibliography of the question, Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Munich, 1927, 4th edition, 151-152. The dramatic connections of the *Satura* are admirably treated by P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires*, Paris, 1911, Introduction, XLVII-LXXV. For its relation to the Roman games, P. Boyancé, *Revue des études anciennes*, XXXIV (1932), 11-25.

¹ Diomedes *G. L.* I 485.

² Boyancé, *op. cit.*, 15-17.

³ Trendall, *Paest.*, Pl. XXIIc, XXXVa, figs. 10, 14, 16.

⁴ G. Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna, 1932, Pl. 7.

⁵ Aulus Gellius I 24. 3.

a New Comedy author, as the *Casina* is to Diphilus in its prologue,¹ that Plautus has not, like a mimic writer, radically changed the tone of the play to suit his purpose. We must establish, therefore, two quite general criteria for the type to which any given play conforms. We may then classify the plays according to the preponderance of popular or of New Comedy elements. If on examination certain plays are found to contain in the absence of the other criterion popular elements in bulk, we may suspect either that Plautus has followed his own bent in adapting them for the Roman stage, if indeed his model was a New Comedy play, or else that such a play has been incorrectly included in those modelled on New Comedy and should be set off in a class by itself. If, on the other hand, a play conforms to the higher standard and is fairly free of popular elements, we may infer that Plautus has followed quite closely the spirit of the original. Further, if by this method we can establish a group of such popular plays, we may examine them for their common characteristics in the hopes of establishing a norm for the vanished popular drama from which Plautus drew his inspiration. It may even be possible to trace a development of this drama within the plays of Plautus himself.

The main distinction between the popular plays and the higher type is that between farce and sentimental comedy. The most developed form of Plautine farce is the plot based upon mistaken identity, the theme of the *Amphitruo* and the *Menaechmi*. The basis of such farce is a pervasive fooling of all characters by each other in turn, in reality an extension of the basic conception of popular comedy, the utter and ludicrous fooling of one character by another. This fooling (*ludus*, *frustratio*, *fallaciae*) we shall take as the criterion for the lower type of play. For the upper-class drama (though, of course, the element of deception is also present) the criterion will be the predominance of a sentimental theme, sometimes, though not always, coupled with the *anagnorisis*, involving a relevant development of the plot toward the union of two human beings.

Favorite characters with Plautus are those who could be easily turned into butts. Except in the two plays mentioned above, the pimp, the old man in love, the old father, the braggart soldier, and the parasite are in turn key figures in his plays. But from the popular

¹ *Casina*, Prologue, 32.

point of view they are treated like men of straw to be knocked down; from that of the New Comedy, as characters in the development of the plot. Sentimental comedy embraces the following plays: *Cistellaria*, *Rudens*, *Poenulus*, *Curculio*, *Aulularia*, *Epidicus*, *Captivi*, all of which contain the *anagnorisis* and, without it, *Mercator* and *Trinummus*.¹ These plays are not without popular features, as, for example, the character of the foolish parasite in the *Captivi*, introduced to enliven an idealistic play, but they are distinguishable on romantic grounds from the remainder, which are farce in varying degrees of complexity or lack of subtlety.

These farces fall into the following categories: first, a type of short festival piece with a loose simple plot, hinging upon a central *ludus* or fooling incident and a festal conclusion in the banquet and dance of the slaves; next, a popularized type of New Comedy piece, containing festivities, its interest focussed on the central fooling, its sentimental implications suppressed; next, a group of New Comedy farces, interwoven with well tried popular features to which the audience would quickly respond, some with a festal ending, some without. With one exception, an early play, all these pieces contain liberal use of the canticum, particularly in the final act. With reference to the victim of their central fooling, they may be grouped as follows:

Butt	Festival Play	Popularized New Comedy	New Comedy Farce
			1. with festivities
Pimp	<i>Persa</i>		<i>Pseudolus</i>
Old man in love		<i>Casina</i>	<i>Asinaria</i>
Old father		<i>Mostellaria</i>	<i>Bacchides</i>
			2. without festivities
Braggart Soldier			<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>
			<i>Truculentus</i>
Parasite	<i>Stichus</i>		

The simplest form of fooling play, the festival piece, is exemplified by the *Persa*. Like the *Stichus* (775 lines), which shares with it certain popular features, it is also one of the shortest plays (858 lines). It deals with life below stairs; its main characters are the familiar

¹ The *Vidularia* is not included in this list owing to its fragmentary condition.

pair of slaves, Toxilus and Sagaristio, who parody amusingly the manners and speech of their absent masters.¹ The plot turns entirely upon the fooling of the pimp Dordalus, whose slave, Lemniselenis, is bought for Toxilus with the price of oxen which Sagaristio has been instructed to sell.² The fooling is achieved by dressing up the protesting daughter of the parasite, Saturio, and by the subsequent arrest of the pimp as the purloiner of a free maiden.³ The play is padded out by an amusing interchange between Lemniselenis' maid and the impish *puer delicatus*, Paegnion, of whose lewd character there is left no doubt.⁴ Act V concludes with a slap-stick assault on the pimp in the midst of the same sort of slave-banquet with which the *Stichus* concludes.⁵ A feature of both banquets is the indecent dancing already familiar to the Romans in the mimic *paegnia* of the Ionian cinaeds, Hegea and Diodorus.⁶

The plot of the *Stichus* is strung loosely round the fooling of the parasite Gelasimus, who is cheated three times of his dinner.⁷ It includes the same pair of friendly slaves, Stichus and Sangarinus, who end the play with a dancing parody of an upper class banquet in the company of their common love, Stephanium.⁸ It comprises again the impudent *puer delicatus*, Paegnium.⁹

The *Casina* is the best example of the second type of play, the popularized New Comedy. It was deliberately adapted by Plautus from Diphilus' comedy of the Κληρούμενοι into a fooling play.¹⁰ The romantic element, the prologue informs us, was discarded.¹¹ *Casina*

¹ *Persa* 1-53.

² *Persa* 251-271.

³ Acts III and IV, ll. 329-752.

⁴ ll. 201-250.

⁵ ll. 777-856.

⁶ ll. 824-826. *Stichus* 755-761, 769-774.

⁷ ll. 374-401, 454-504, 579-640.

⁸ ll. 683-741.

⁹ ll. 274-401.

¹⁰ Prologue 31-34.

¹¹ Prologue 35-66. Plautus omitted the character of the youthful lover of *Casina*, the son of Lysidamus and Cleustrata, ll. 64-66:

Is ne expectetis, hodie in hac comoedia
in urbem non redibit: Plautus noluit,
pontem interruptit, qui erat ei in itinere.

herself never appears, and the pair of slaves, Olympio and Chalinus, this time mutually abusive, are made the protagonists of the struggle between the infatuated Lysidamus and his jealous wife. It contains a repetition of the dressing-up motif of the *Persa* and the same indecent allegations with regard to the slaves which marked the *pueri delicati* mentioned above.¹ It concludes with the hilarity of the mock hymeneal.²

The *Mostellaria* seems to have suffered the same fate. Recognizably akin to the *Trinummus*, which provides an excellent New Comedy foil for it, its tone and emphasis are absolutely different.³ It begins like the *Casina* with a verbal exchange between the two slaves, Tranio and Grumio, includes the *puer delicatus*, Phaniscus, and its sentimental implications are subordinated to the out-and-out fooling of Theopropides, as stupid a Pappus as ever Atellan farce produced.⁴ It too is marked by festivity in the banquet scene of Act I.⁵

The third type of play, the New Comedy farce, is represented by the *Pseudolus*, *Asinaria*, and *Bacchides*, forming the first category, and the *Miles Gloriosus* with *Truculentus*, the second. The *Pseudolus* deserves separate treatment below.⁶ All these plays show Plautus developing within the framework of a more complicated New-Comedy setting the fooling themes familiar to his audience. The *Asinaria*, based on the *Ὀναγὸς* of Demophilus, has like the *Casina* the amorous old man as butt, again with the pair of slaves, now abusive, now in collusion, exchanging roles with the young master and making him and his love dance to their tune.⁷ Again the ruse of the stolen money and the motif of impersonation are dragged in to provide funds and to fool the trader; again also the festive ending, though interrupted in time by the irate Artemona.⁸

¹ ll. 454-462.

² ll. 815-1018.

³ For the relationship of the *Mostellaria* to the *Trinummus* and *Mercator*, see M. Knorr, *Das griechische Vorbild der Mostellaria des Plautus*, Coburg, 1934, 11, 17, 42, 43-44, 47, 48.

⁴ ll. 1-75, 885-903.

⁵ ll. 315-347.

⁶ pp. 222-223.

⁷ ll. 618-745.

⁸ ll. 369, 380-503, 580-584, 851-941.

The *Bacchides* resembles the *Mostellaria* in the turn which Plautus gives to its development. It foreshadows in the double line of plot involving the courtesans, the youngsters, Mnesilochus and Pistoclerus, and the fathers, Nicobulus and Philoxenus, the twin development frequent in Terence's plays. It resembles, as Lejay points out, the *Adelphoe* in its contrast of the two educations.¹ But Plautus turns aside from such a development to achieve an immoral ending. He centres the action on the triumph, first of Chrysalus (Act IV), then of the courtesans (Act V). In mock tragic vein reminiscent of the *Phlyakes*, Chrysalus compares himself to the heroes of the Trojan War, Agamemnon and Ulysses, before the final fooling of Nicobulus.² The fifth act, the seduction of the old men, leads up to the undignified kermess of the conclusion.

The *Miles* and *Truculentus* have no such festival conclusion, but the first is introduced by the stock characters of the vainglorious soldier and his parasite, who does not appear again after the brief first act. Act II is an insertion.³ It is a self-contained *ludus* play, a gratuitous fooling scene between the two slaves, Palaestrio and Sceledrus, thrown in for good measure before the lengthier fooling of the Miles. This second fooling is achieved again by the dressing-up motif and by the subordination of the romantic element.⁴

The *Truculentus* is a convincing picture of life among the courtesans. More elaborate than the *Casina* and *Mostellaria*, it is made up of a succession of *ludi* involving the young man about town, Diniarchus, Stratophanes the *miles gloriosus*, and Strabax the rustic.⁵ It is as realistic as Hogarth, as immoral as Restoration Drama and completely devoid of sentiment.

The degree of popularization which Plautus attempted in handling the same theme is well represented by the succession of plays centred on the pimp's discomfiture, the *Persa*, the *Pseudolus*, the *Pocnulus*, the *Rudens*. The popular features of the *Persa* have been outlined above; it is a sheer *ludus* or festival play. In the *Pseudolus* the gamut

¹ P. Lejay, *Plaute*, Paris, 1925, 54.

² Fränkel, *Plaut.* 59-72.

³ Leo, F., *Plautinische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1912, 178-185.

⁴ ll. 1175-1182, 1281-1352.

⁵ Diniarchus, ll. 1-447; Stratophanes, ll. 448-644; Strabax, ll. 893-967.

of the *ludus* is extended. Like the *Truculentus* it was, as we know, on the authority of Cicero, a favorite with Plautus himself.¹ At the same time that Pseudolus fools Ballio by dressing Simia, his accomplice, as Harpax, he prepares for the fooling of the old father Simo, who has betted against his success.² From the New Comedy comes the framework of these antics: the love-sick Calidorus, here caricatured, not sentimentalized, and his friend Charinus, the pair of fathers, Simo and Calliphon, complaining or indulgent; from popular comedy come the caricature of a pimp, Ballio, a mimic contrast to Terence's Sannio in the *Adelphoe*,³ and the abusive assault in Act I upon the imperturbable victim.⁴ The whole of Act I with its New Comedy setting is really only the background for the *ludus* which begins in Act II with Pseudolus' words,

Pro Iuppiter, ut mihi quicquid ago lepide omnia prospereque eveniunt.

In Act V it is interesting to note that Plautus, who has subordinated the romantic interest throughout the play, replaces the actual feasting scenes of the *Persa* and *Stichus* by a mere account given by the drunken Pseudolus.⁵ This is a concession perhaps to his audience assisting on this occasion at the *Ludi Megalenses*, the most solemn and aristocratic of the Roman festivals, instead of the more popular *Ludi Plebeii* at which the *Stichus* was produced.⁶

¹ *Cato*, XIV 50. For contamination in the *Pseudolus*, J. N. Hough, *The Composition of the Pseudolus of Plautus*, Lancaster, Pa., 1931.

² ll. 905-1016; 534-546. Note the use in l. 546 of the word *ludos* to describe the subsequent trickeries of Pseudolus.

³ Compare the entrance scene of the brutal Ballio, ll. 133-229, with *Adelphoe*, 161, where Sannio remarks: *Leno ego sum . . . at ita ut usquam fuit fide quisquam optima*, and with the self-depreciatory remarks of the pimp in the Diphilus fragment 87. Kock *C A F* II 570.

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τεχνίον ἐξωλέστερον
τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πωλεῖν περιπατῶν βούλομαι
ῥόδα, ῥαφανίδας, θερμοκνάμους, στέμφυλα,
ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ ταύτας τρέφειν.

⁴ ll. 357-370.

⁵ ll. 1246-1284.

⁶ For the dignified nature of the *Ludi Megalenses*, Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responso*, 12.24. The *Stichus* and *Pseudolus* are the only plays of Plautus whose *didascalia* have been preserved.

In the *Poenulus*, based, in part at least, on a Greek play *Καρχηδόνιος*, Plautus adopts a different method.¹ Its original title *Patruus Pulti-phagonides* suggests a popularization like the title *Patruus* of the Atellan farce of Pomponius, and indeed the play contains the roughly joined sections of two different plots, the first a *ludus*, the latter the *Καρχηδόνιος*, a sentimental New Comedy based on the *anagnorisis*.² The plot of the *ludus* is thus outlined by Leo:³

Das Stück, das Plautus hinzunahm, hatte ungefähr folgenden Inhalt. Ein junger Mann liebt eine Hetäre, die mit ihrer Schwester bei einem Kuppler dient. An Geld fehlt es ihm nicht (wie in *Curculio* und *Pseudolus*), aber der Kuppler hält ihn hin um grössere Summen von ihm zu erpressen (prol 98 sq.). Daher zettelt der Sklave des Liebhabers einen der complicirten Überlistungspläne an, durch die auch in andern Stücken Kuppler zu Falle gebracht werden. Ein Landsklave, der zufällig in der Stadt ist, dem erst kürzlich zugezogenen (v. 94) Kuppler unbekannt, wird als Soldat ausstaffirt und lässt sich, mit einer Summe Geldes versehen, vom Kuppler aufnehmen, der sich dadurch eines furtum schuldig macht. Die Ausführung dieser List füllte das übrige Stück aus, den Abschluss mögen wir uns ähnlich dem des *Persa* denken.

One may add that such a plot bears also a suspicious resemblance to the fooling scene in the *Asinaria*.⁴

The tone of the *Rudens* raises it to a place among the finest of the Plautine plays. Its prologue, delivered by the Morning Star, is full of a calm poetry suitable after the storm-swept night which precedes the action. Lejay has called attention to a pervasive serious, religious note; the *cantica* recall those of Ennius; the outwitting of the pimp, Labrax, is subordinated to the romantic theme.⁵ To the scene between Ampelisca and Trachalio (Act II, iii), which is necessary for the development of the plot, succeeds with the effect almost of parody an unnecessary roustabout between Ampelisca and the amorous Sceparnio. No more in keeping, probably, with the tone of the original is the fooling scene (Act IV, iii) between Trachalio and Gripus, who has caught up in his net the box with Ampelisca's birth tokens, nor the following

¹ Prologue 54-55.

² Acts I-III, ll. 1-816, and Acts IV, V, ll. 817-1422.

³ Leo *Forsch.* 171, see 170-178.

⁴ See above, p. 221.

⁵ *Plaute*, 178-179; for the *cantica*, Fränkel, *Plaut.* 342-344.

arbitration before Daemones. Here the irrelevant wit and indecency of the two slaves contrasts very unfavorably with the humble address of the two rustics in the comparable scene from Menander's *Arbitrants*.¹

IV

What, then, in summary, are the signs of popular influence in Plautus? The first element is a predilection for the fooling type of play at the expense of romantic interest; the second the choice of a well-known stock character as the butt of the fooling. In this there is a simplification akin to that of the Atellan farce. The old man in love or outwitted by his slave is the Pappus; the greedy parasite, the blustering soldier are the Maccus and the Bucco; the champion frustrator, the Dossennus of the piece, is the triumphant slave, Toxilus, Chalinus, Tranio, Palaestrio, Pseudolus, Libanus, Chrysalus. The dominating role assigned in Plautus to slave characters has been noted by Fränkel.² It is not found either in the fragments of Menander or in the plays of Terence. It too is, perhaps, an inheritance from older strata of drama, particularly in the conniving or opposing pairs, in Toxilus and Sagaristio, Chalinus and Olympio, Tranio and Grumio, Palaestrio and Sceledrus, Stichus and Sangarinus, Pseudolus and Simia, Libanus and Leonida. Its Fescennine tone survives in Horace's Cicirrus and Sarmentus. To these must be added the threadworn motifs of these slave plots, the 'oxen' that furnish the needed money, the dressing up of characters to effect a crude deception, the repetition of indecency. Lastly, we may add, as Lejay has pointed out, the festal conclusion, coupled with the metrical liveliness which distinguishes all these plays except the *Miles*.³ In his classification of the comedies Lejay segregates as peculiarly Plautine the *Casina*, *Persa*, *Bacchides*, *Pseudolus*, *Asinaria*, and *Stichus*, terming them *opéras comiques à divertissement final*. They comprise six of the nine plays treated above. They are distinguished by their festal ending and by a highly developed use of enlivening cantica. For a similar

¹ *Ἐπιτρέποντες*, ed. C. Jansen, Berlin, 1929, 17-23, Cairo D. 1-165.

² *Plaut.* 231-250.

³ *Plaute*, 32.

use of the *canticum* we may add the *Mostellaria* and the *Truculentus*. It is interesting to note that Lejay derives these two features from the influence of the *Satura* with its musical *modi* and accompanying feasting.¹

If such are the popular features in Plautus, can they be tested as evidence of a continuing vein in ancient taste? We have already seen in Aristophanes' gestures towards Dorian comedy the admission that such slave drama, such love of stock types, such abusive scurrility were marks of popular drama in his time. We can say the same also of the indecency which Plautus introduces; it is found plentifully in Aristophanes himself. So also with the polymetry which the New Comedy relinquished, but Plautus revived in astrophic form. It is, as we have seen, shared by Old Comedy, the Mime, the *Phlyax*, the Atellan farce, and the *Satura*. Popular also in Old Comedy were the festal ending and the lively dancing or *saltatio*. The *Acharnians* ends with a feast; the *Wasps* with the dancing of Philocleon and the dwarfs disguised as the stunted sons of Carcinus; the *Peace* and the *Birds* end with hymeneal rejoicings; the *Lysistrata* with the feast of the Spartan ambassadors, the *Thesmophoriazusae* with the dancing girl's performance, the *Ecclesiazousae* with general jollity.² It remains to show whether in the remains of the *Togata* and the *Fabula Atellana*, in the lines of Quinctius and Afranius, of Pomponius, Novius and Mummius such traditions have left their trace.

The evidence is not far to seek. Here again we find the characteristics of Western Dorian comedy. The mythological vein is in the *Agamemno Suppositus* of Pomponius and the *Hercules Coactor* of Novius; the latter's *Mortis et Vitae Iudicium* recalls the debate type of play among those of Epicharmus, as well as the *Luxuria et Inopia* of the prologue to the *Trinummus*.³ The theme of mistaken identity must have been shared by the *Macci Gemini* of Pomponius as well as by the *Menaechmi* and the *Amphitruo*.⁴ The festival note is suggested

¹ *Plaule*, 31.

² *Acharnians* 1085-1253; *Wasps* 1474-1537; *Peace* 1316-1333; *Birds* 1706-1765; *Lysistrata* 1182-1224; *Thesmophoriazusae* 1172-1231; *Ecclesiazousae* 1135-1181.

³ Ribbeck *C R F* 225, 260, 264; Olivieri *Framm.* XXII, XXIII, XXVI.

⁴ *C R F* 235.

by the titles *Compitalia*, *Megalensia*, *Pompa* of Afranius, by the *Satura* and *Megalensia* of Quinctius, the *Satura*, *Kalendae Martiae* and *Quinquatrus* of Pomponius, the *Fullones Feriati*, *Vindemiatores* and the references to the *septem Saturnalia* in the fragments of Novius and Mummius.¹ The indecency of Plautus is shared by the *Prostibulum* and the *Maccus Virgo*, as is also the dressing-up motif.²

Within the plays of Plautus, then, a group may be isolated which in comic tone, in plot-motifs, in *dramatis personae*, are to be differentiated from the New Comedy form. These show the influence of an older level of popular comedy as it existed in the West in the time of Plautus. These popular elements are found also in the sentimental plays based upon New Comedy antecedents, but here a shift of emphasis has already taken place and the plays are on their way to approximating the ideal perfected by Terence.

The patronage of Plautus imposed upon him conditions resembling those imposed upon Aristophanes, and we find him reacting in the same way. To his audience the sentimental comedy of the Athenian upper-class stage was alien; more familiar was the popular comedy in its native forms. Thus in the works of Plautus has been preserved a contrast of an upper-class comedy imposing its criteria from without and a native comedy vigorously resisting from within the intrusion of foreign standards. Both these comedies have a Greek inspiration, the New Comedy that of Hellenistic Athens, the popular comedy that of Hellenistic South Italy. The proof of this thesis is not possible without taking into consideration the archaeological evidence, by means of which can be traced two lines of heritage, the ancestry of New Comedy which produces Terence by Menander out of Euripides, and the ancestry of Roman popular comedy, which produces Plautus by folk-drama, the *Satura*, by the Atellan farce, by South Italian and Sicilian drama, out of Dorian Comedy in the West. The popular form had a future on the Roman stage but at the price of separation from the *Palliata*. After Plautus it breaks away in the Latin tongue into the separate literary forms of *Rhinthonica*, *Togata*, *Fabula Atellana*, finally the Roman Mime. Plautus is therefore as interesting from the point

¹ C R F 168, 192, 194, 161, 162, 249, 234, 249, 259, 269, 270 III, 273 I.

² C R F 247 I, III, 237.

of view of the lower drama as of the upper, in that his plays are the sole extant examples in which upper and lower elements mingle side by side. To be understood, Plautus must be compared with Aristophanes, with Epicharmus, with Sophron, with the later forms of Roman comedy. When such comparison is made, a unifying thread is visible in a popular continuity.

A FRAGMENT OF JUVENAL IN A MANUSCRIPT OF ORLÉANS

By ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY AND EDWARD KENNARD RAND

I

ANOTHER "VADE MECUM" OF FLEURY

IN THE summer of 1937 Mr. McKinlay was making a study of manuscripts in libraries of Europe for the second article of his *Studies in Arator*.¹ Among the codices was a manuscript of Orléans, No. 295 (245 *bis*) of the ninth century (so we believe), which, through the courtesy of M. Lauer in Paris and M. Boussard at Orléans, was sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale for Mr. McKinlay's use. The manuscript contains only part of Arator's work (through Book II 735), but the rest is supplied by a Leyden manuscript (*Vossianus* F. 12, part γ), which also contains other works that once, it would seem, were part of the same volume as the *Arator*. The collection has much the character of another manuscript of Leyden that Mr. Rand has entitled "A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury."² The members of the little *corpus* are not the same, but its purpose is identical; it is a school-book for young Christians for whom the great authors of Pagan Rome are as educationally essential as those of their own faith. In the volumes of Orléans, the grammarians come first — both editions of Donatus, then Priscian, and then Servius on the quantity of syllables. The moral maxims of the so-called Cato³ follow, and these are succeeded by Christian authors. In the prose edition of Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale*, youthful students are presented with the stories of their faith, especially those from the Old Testament. The life of Christ is set forth in the Virgilian epic of Juvenius, and Arator similarly unfolds the early history of the Church. In the *Vossianus* the part after the completion of Arator is devoted to

¹ "Studies in Arator: 1. The Manuscript Tradition of the *Capitula* and *Tituli*," *H. S. C. P.*, XLIII (1933), 123-166.

² *Philol. Quart.*, I (1922), 258-277. See also E. M. Sanford, "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the *Libri Manuales*," *T. A. P. A.*, LV (1924), 190-248.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Virgil. The poem¹ *Ergone supremis* attributed to Octavianus and metrical *argumenta* for *Bucolics* and *Georgics* are followed by the text of a part of the *Bucolics* accompanied by the commentary of Servius. How much of Virgil the book of Orléans contained we do not know. Possibly only the work of Arator belongs to it.

If some of Virgil — say to the end of the *Bucolics* — did belong with the rest to follow in another volume, then we find in this *liber manualis* a well-ordered introduction not only to those things that a young Christian should know for his soul's comfort, but to the proper understanding of Virgil. The Christian poets, Virgilian in form, precede Virgil — quite apart from their moral and spiritual value — because they are easier to comprehend. Virgil is not a mere gateway to them; they, as an exercise in Latin poetry, are a gateway to him.²

With a minute examination of this book of Orléans (to which we shall henceforth refer as *Orl*) we are not here concerned. It contains 84 folia³ combined in 11 gatherings, all quaternions except one.⁴ Two pages were ruled at a time, in fashion called N(ew) S(tyle).⁵ Ligatures are simple, including *ae*, *or* and *st*. The ligature of *a* and *e*, which sometimes are written separately,⁶ is effected either by the coalescing of the two letters, as in our diphthong *æ*,⁷ or, apparently less often, by the reduction of *a* to a cedilla appended to the *e*.⁸ The former method is, *ceteris paribus*, a sign of early date. Abbreviations are used sparingly in the text and are not abused in the scholia. The varieties used agree in many cases with the "Regular Abbreviations" of the Script of

¹ Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, No. 672; Baehrens, *P. L. M.* IV, No. 183.

² On the relation of Arator and Virgil, see A. Ansorge, *De Aratore Poetarum Latinorum Imitatore*, Vratisloviae, 1914. I intend at a later time to study the place of Arator in the Christian humanism of the early Middle Ages. Leyden *Voss. Q* 86 is not the only manuscript concerned. (A. P. McK.)

³ The pages (168) are numbered. Dimensions: 355 × 255 mm. One column (240 × 158 mm.) with side-columns (40–55 mm.), top (40 mm.) and lower (60 mm.) margins ruled for scholia. 26, later 28, lines in the page.

⁴ Q. V, a binion, pp. 65–72.

⁵ Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours*, I. *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Mediaeval Academy of America), 1929, pp. 13–17. This work will be cited as *Survey*. See Appendix B.

⁶ See text of Plate A.

⁷ See both text and scholia in Plate B.

⁸ Plate A, column of scholia, between ll. 5 and 6 of text (*cetere*).

Tours,¹ but some appear that were not much in vogue in the finished style of St. Martin's. Such are omīs (*omnis*), omīa, omīb; ² qꝤ (*quia*) and s̄t (*sunt*). The use of the figure 2 in the symbol for *tur* (t̄) indicates a date after 820.³

The script of our book is of a good clear Carolingian variety that at first suggested to us the style practised at Fleury about or somewhat before the middle of the ninth century. Of the periods into which Professor Carey divided the development of the script of Fleury,⁴ one might place our book either at the end of the period c. 815-825, in which an attractive hand was perfected — under the impulse, primarily, of the great Theodulf, who wished to rival the School of Tours — or at the beginning of the following period (c. 825-845), in which this hand developed certain individual traits, such as the frequent use of the ligature *or*; note that in Plate B not all the chances for this ligature are taken.

Meanwhile such a dating of our book is earlier than that hitherto assigned. M. Cuissard, in his catalogue of the manuscripts at Orléans,⁵ attributes the book to the tenth century, and so, as we shall see,⁶ did a predecessor of his in the eighteenth century. Far more important than these judgments is that of Professor F. M. Carey, who would place it between 925 and 950 ⁷ — when there was a revival of the earlier manner at Fleury — and that of Professor Wilhelm Koehler, who on examining our photostats was strongly of the opinion that the ornamentation of the book cannot be earlier than the tenth century. He concedes, however, that the original style employed may have been somewhat modified later or that spaces left blank may have been filled in with lettering or ornaments of a later period. Thus the *P* in Plate B obviously does not fit the space apportioned; something quite

¹ *Survey*, pp. 27-28.

² Plate A, above l. 4 of the text; Plate B, text l. 6.

³ Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 377.

⁴ See his dissertation, *De Scriptura Floriacensi*, unpublished, but accessible in Harvard College Library. A summary of it may be found in *H. S. C. P.*, XXXIV (1923), 193-195.

⁵ *Catalogue des Départements*, XII, p. 147.

⁶ Below, p. 250.

⁷ Miss Adele Kibre shares my feeling that the script is of the ninth century. (E. K. R.)

different was intended. The *P* in Plate A does fit, but may have been dressed up a bit later. This matter can be decided only when an expert like Professor Koehler can examine the manuscript itself, and when Professor Carey has completed his classification of his abounding material on the script of Fleury. For the moment, the exact dating of the script and the illumination of this book is of secondary interest.

II

THE WRITING ON THE COVER

When at the Bibliothèque Nationale last summer Mr. McKinlay was turning over the manuscript of Orléans with Mr. Rand, the latter noticed the impress of script on the inner surface of the front board-cover. It bears no relation to the writing on the opposite leaf, the first in the book. It came from a leaf that was glued to the cover. At some later time this leaf was stripped off, but relics of its script remained behind. A similar condition is exhibited by the back-cover, as Mr. McKinlay had already observed. Turning the book upside-down and applying a mirror to decipher the fragments of what Traube once playfully called "*Spiegelschrift*,"¹ we independently, without much effort, discovered the nature of the text thus curiously preserved.²

III

MEDIAEVAL BINDINGS

The binding of our manuscript is typically mediaeval, and may well be original. Mediaeval bindings still existing in manuscripts of Fulda, Reichenau, St. Gall, Freising and Würzburg have recently been

¹ The term was also suggested to us, and also playfully, by our friend Bernard M. Peebles, but, as we learned from Dr. E. A. Lowe, Traube had anticipated his jest.

² Mr. McKinlay had intended to study it, but was called away by the investigations that awaited him at other libraries. In his absence, I examined the script on the covers and secured photographs, in order to collect all possible evidence in case his time should be limited after his return. When he returned, he made his own examination. Professor Carey had noticed the remains on the covers some years ago, but had no time to study them. (E. K. R.)

examined most instructively by Karl Christ.¹ Among the manuscripts at Orléans, also, are some that still are clad in what look like their original coverings. We may note in them all the steps in the process of binding a mediaeval book. First the leaves were secured in their gathering, generally a quaternion, by a thread that pierced the middle of the double-leaves at two or more points. The gatherings were then assembled, and their threads were fastened to strong cords at both back and top,² that were then passed through the board covers at various points.³ Cover and contents thus were embraced by these intertwining cords in a permanent union. "Embraced" is the word; a firmer matrimony is portended by such bonds than by the glue that fastens modern books to their bindings.⁴

Such is the foundation for the normal binding of a mediaeval book.⁵ Some of the books examined by Dr. Christ were bound simply in parchment.⁶ It would be interesting to ascertain the number and geographical distribution of such bindings. The use of wood was certainly widespread, and it lasted through the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance.⁷ Different sorts were employed. A sturdy oak like that in *Orl* may well have been the favorite, but, as in Orléans 80 (47), cedar was also employed.⁸ In the case of sumptuous volumes, the front cover (sometimes the back as well) would be adorned with

¹ "Karolingische Bibliothekseinbände" in *Festschrift Georg Leyh*, Leipzig, 1937, pp. 82-104. We are indebted to Professor Koehler for a reference to this work.

² Plate C: Orléans 270 (324), Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* and *Opuscula Sacra*, saec. IX (second quarter). A description of this interesting book, partly the work of the priest Albinus, will be given in the *Prolegomena* to an edition of the *Opuscula Sacra* in the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. (E. K. R.)

³ Plate D: Orléans 80 (77), Arator and Boethius, *Peri Herm.* ed. 2, another book sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale for Mr. McKinlay's use.

⁴ Note that in MS. 80 (77) the two middle strands have been reënforced by a later (modern?) cord. Not even mediaeval bonds can last forever.

⁵ See Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁷ Two *incunabula* in Harvard College Library may suffice for examples: *Inc.* 4826, Thomas Aquinas, *Summae theologiae tertia pars*, Venetiis, Bernardinus Stagninus de Tridino, April 10, 1486 and *Inc.* 473, Terence, Strassburg, Johann Reinhard, November 1, 1497.

⁸ This matter may be examined further by M. Van Moë, librarian in the Department of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

a carved ivory plaque set in a metal (often silver) frame studded with precious stones.¹ In simpler volumes, nothing was added to the wood save a back of parchment that covered not half of the sides. The volume was fastened to the desk by a chain, and clasps held the covers firm and thus prevented the parchment leaves from spreading.²

In the volume of Orléans under discussion (and in others of that Library), a rough, sturdy parchment overlay the entire surface of the boards,³ the edges being folded over and glued down on the inside.⁴ The ugly lacuna left on the inside of the board would naturally be covered up with something. In some of the books examined by Dr. Christ, the guard-leaf, which was also an integral part of the first gathering, was pasted to the cover.⁵ That act made the union of cover and contents firmer than ever, but the opening of the book, it would seem, would cause a certain wrenching of the gatherings, particularly the first and the last, that otherwise would not have taken place. The books of Orléans here presented do not show that method. Instead, in *Orl* an extra leaf was pasted over the inside of the front cover, and another over that of the back. The sides of those leaves that faced the covers bore script; whether those that faced the reader were inscribed we do not know. It was apparently the action of the glue that deposited the script, some of it, on the covers. At some later time, the leaves were removed, presumably after a soaking with water or some liquid that would dissolve the glue; whatever that substance was, it did not utterly efface the impression on the boards.⁶

¹ E.g. the Psalter of Charles the Bald (B. N. lat. 1152), written by Liuthard 842-869 A.D. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Plus Belles Reliures de la Réunion des Bibliothèques Nationales* (pref. by P. R. Roland Marcel), Paris, 1929, pp. 1-5 (the Psalter is No. 2) and *Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Editions Nationales de France* (pref. by E. Dacier), Paris, 1929 (Pl. II is of the Psalter). For examples from the twelfth century, see *Les plus beaux manuscrite français à peintures du moyen âge de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1937, Pl. 6 (described by Ph. Lauer, p. 14); Pl. 17 (described by E. van Moé, p. 30).

² Harvard College Library possesses a good specimen in a manuscript of *Tractatus de confessionibus audiendis* etc., written about 1390 (Sumner Ms. 56).

³ Plate E: MS. *Orl*.

⁴ Plate F: Orléans 270 (324). The sheet on the right, penetrated by grooves for which nothing in the binding is responsible, is a guard-leaf; the text begins on the next leaf.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁶ See Plate G (somewhat reduced). The author will be grateful for any informa-

IV

A FRAGMENT OF JUVENAL

The relics on the covers of *Orl* show that the page at the front (Page A) contained the text of Juvenal, *Satire* II 32-89 and that at the back (Page B) *Sat.* III 35-93.

1. *Contents and position in the original manuscript*

Our fragment, to which we will refer as *o*, contains two columns on each page, each of 29 lines. The page, therefore, contains 58 lines.¹ The stretch between these two passages (II 90-III 31) comprises 116 lines plus a title for *Satire* III. The text would just fit into four columns of 29 lines apiece, but some space would be necessary for the title. In all probability it would have taken no more than a line.² It might even have been a simple *INC.* III, written in the margin, or the scribe might have omitted it, or one of the lines, just as he omits a line on Page B. We may safely assume, it would seem, that just one leaf intervened between Page A and Page B. Apparently, therefore, Pages A and B did not form a double leaf in their gathering. For if they were the middle leaf, no text could have come in between them, and if any did, as is the case, it would ordinarily occupy not merely one leaf but at least one double-leaf. The leaves, therefore, of which

tion from chemically expert palaeographers or others as to the exact nature of the process. We are already indebted to Professor H. A. Sanders for a letter on the subject. It is to be hoped that someone will collect examples of "Spiegelschrift" (or "impressed" script, shall we say?). I came across another, less important, instance last summer in B. N. lat. 7963, a handsome Servius of the middle of the 12th century (called *saec.* XIII in the Catalogue). The last leaf (fol. 227^v) was once pasted to the cover which was faced with an inscribed parchment leaf. When fol. 227^v, originally blank, was pulled away, part of the script on the covering leaf came with it. That leaf itself was later removed. It bore in a clear Carolingian hand of the tenth century a portion of the service for Epiphany. (E. K. R.)

¹ Column 2 of Page B includes an extra line of text (*Sat.* III 93) since l. 78 was omitted.

² As occurs in Paris, B. N. lat. 8070 s. X and Leyden Univ. 82 even at the end of *Sat.* VI, which closes the second book. See Chatelain, *Pal. des Class. Lat.* Pl. CXXXI. 1 and CXXXIV. 1. So in both the *Pithoeanus* and the *Aarau* Fragments a page contained *Sat.* II 148-III 5, i.e. 28 lines plus a title of one line. See below, p. 243, and R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*, Lipsiae, 1885, p. 29.

they constitute pages, were probably not halves of the same double-leaf.¹ They were rather, with that between them, three successive leaves in either half of their gathering. If they all were originally the second halves of double-leaves, then the first halves had been cut away. If they were the first halves, then the second halves had similarly disappeared. Or, less probably, they might all have been single leaves.

Let us for the moment call our leaves Nos. 5, 6, and 7 of a normal quaternion. What occupied the rest of that gathering? If we look back of Page A (fol. 5) to the beginning of Juvenal's work, we find 202 lines in *Sat. I* (171) and the beginning of *Sat. II* (31), or three pages (174 lines) and nearly one column (28 lines). One of these pages (58 lines) would occupy the *recto* of Page A (= fol. 5^r) and two (116 lines) would fill the preceding leaf (= fol. 4). Thus there are left for fol. 3 only 28 or (assuming a title of one line for *Sat. II*) 29 lines or one column.

Even if there was a very elaborate title for the entire work occupying this entire column,² that would account for only a page; the preceding page (fol. 3^r), to say nothing of foll. 1-2, would be blank — an untenable supposition. If, on the other hand, we assign our leaves to the first half of the gathering as foll. 2, 3, and 4, the one leaf left at the beginning cannot accommodate the remaining three pages and a half of text. Or if, after all, we call our leaves foll. 3 and 5 of the gathering, with the intervening text on a leaf (fol. 4) tucked in, we are

¹ Of course the amount between Page A and Page B might have been inscribed on a single leaf tucked into the gathering. In that case Pages A and B would occupy the inmost double-leaf. But a single leaf is not very frequently inserted thus in the middle of a gathering whose make-up has been planned at the start; it is better, surely, for the strength of the combination if it is put in at a place between the inner double-leaf and the outer double-leaf.

² The most elaborate title among the facsimiles given by Chatelain, *op. cit.*, is that at the end of *Sat. V*, and Book I (Pl. CXXXI. 2, Vienna 131, *saec. X*), where 8 lines are occupied with *Explicit* and *Incipit*, an ornamental initial *C* and the first two lines of the text, of which the first is divided. Only 6 lines, therefore, have really been taken from the text. Among the manuscripts of Persius the more elaborate *Incipits* (*ibid.*, Pl. CXXV, CXXVI) consume no greater amount of the text. In one case, Montpellier 212, *saec. IX*^{ex} (Pl. CXXII. 1) the simple title PERSII FLACCI SATURARŪ INCIPIT fills out the line with which the last word of the preceding work, Nonius Marcellus, begins.

left with fol. 1^r and fol. 1^v, col. 1 uninscribed. It would follow that, as in many of the manuscripts of Juvenal, including the famous *P* (*Pithoeanus*) of Montpellier, the *Satires* of Juvenal were preceded by those of Persius. But since it is impossible to ascertain the amount of Persius that had preceded our leaves in the gathering, we must renounce the attempt to determine the position of our leaves within it.

2. *The Script*

The character of the script of our fragment is shown in Plate G, which reproduces the form and fairly nearly the size of Page A.¹ Plate H gives the same cover and Plate I the back cover (both considerably reduced) in a mirror-view. We see here, whether or not in the manuscript itself, a specimen of the style of Fleury that Theodulf had developed in the early decades of the ninth century.² Plate J gives a page, considerably reduced, from the copy of Theodulf's *Bible* in Paris.³ The hand is not the same as that of the fragment, but the manner is similar; ⁴ it suggests the influence of the Regular Style of Tours.⁵

No initials occur at the beginnings of lines. They had apparently been left for the rubricator; otherwise the scribe himself could easily have put in the single letters (rustic capitals were frequently used) that the small space allows.

¹ The script-space is hard to calculate, since the column-lines cannot be seen and the lines are of unequal length. It is c. 248 × 172 mm.

² See above, p. 231, and Delisle's article in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XL (1879), 5-47. Cf. also E. K. Rand, "A Preliminary Study of Alcuin's Bible," *The Harvard Theological Review*, XXIV (1931), 337-340.

³ B. N. lat. 9380, fol. 210^r. The exact size is reproduced by Delisle in *Album Paléographique*, Pl. 18, and (a few lines) in *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, IV, Pl. XXI, 3. Our facsimile, though reduced, gives no exaggerated idea of the minuteness of the script, which is at the same time fascinatingly legible in this *chef-d'oeuvre* of Theodulf. Note that the "font" used for the *præfatio* here and elsewhere (likewise in the *capitula*) is still tinier.

⁴ Professor Koehler made this observation before he had looked at the photographs of B. N. lat. 9380 that I was about to show him. Once more, if the script of *Orl* itself must be put in the tenth century, it was an exceedingly good imitation of that used in this period of the ninth.

⁵ See *Survey*, pp. 49-52.

LIGATURES

The ligatures in *o* are simple. Those of *ae*, *et*, and *st* appear. *Ae* is treated exactly as in *Orl*, sometimes without ligature,¹ sometimes with the diphthong,² and sometimes with the cedilla.³ The ligature *st* had been avoided at Tours,⁴ and so had that of *or*, which here is found both in medial⁵ and terminal⁶ positions and which became increasingly one of the ear-marks of the Script of Fleury.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in *o* are correspondingly simple. In the Bibles of Theodulf they are as rare as hens' teeth — of course, with the exception of those for the *nomina sacra*. Here they are not plentiful, and some of them may well be forced by the demands for space.

We note symbols for *est* (ē), *ideo* (idō; see Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 110), *non* (ñ), *nostra* (nrā III 84?), *nostris* (nrīs III 58), *nunc* (nc III 36; nūc, III 58?), *omnis* (omīs III 55), *omnia* (omīa, III 77), *per* (p), *prae* (p̄), *pro* (p), *que* (;), *quod* (qđ).

The syllabic suspensions comprise a stroke above *a*, *e*, *u* for *m*, or above a consonant for *er* (*hister*, II 58) or for *it* (*defluxit*, III 62). The figure-2 sign above *t* is used for *tur* (*vexantur*, II 43; *diligitur*, III 49; *miratur*, 90; *creditur*, 93).⁷ For *us* in *bus* the semi-colon is

¹ E.g. *deae*, II 89 and six other cases. References are to the lines of *Sat.* II or *Sat.* III. They can be found in Appendix A and from that easily identified in the Plates (H and I).

² E.g. II 89 (*prof*)*anae*. Also II 62, 76; III 92.

³ II 42 *tabernae* and seven other cases. The form of the cedilla, when it can be made out (cf. II 42) resembles that used in *Orl* (e.g. Plate A, outer col., l. 42; *ceterae*), namely a scythe-shaped figure with the horizontal curve making a sharp angle with the shaft. In four cases (II 55, 56; III 61, 74), no trace of a cedilla may be discerned; but its loss is doubtless explained by the imperfect representation of the writing left on the board.

⁴ *Survey*, etc., p. 9.

⁵ II 35, 37, 47; III 40.

⁶ II 73, III 60.

⁷ In III 55, *volvitur*, the space presupposes an abbreviation, but what it is, is dubious. In II 69, *damnetur*, the word is written out. It may be that in some of the other cases (or all?) an original apostrophe sign has been changed to a figure-2, since the final stroke is very fine (e.g. II 43, *vexantur*), but it is safer to assume the figure-2 sign as original both because of the tenuous condition of the script and because of the frequent use of the apostrophe for *us*.

used (b;) and for *cus* (III 77), *mus* (II 51, 52, 83; III 50), *rus* (II 46; III 53, 62, 79), *tus* III 42, 74, 82), the apostrophe is found. This frequent use of the apostrophe for *us* (especially in *tus*) would indicate a date after the appearance of $\overset{2}{t}$ as the accepted symbol for *tur*, i.e. c. 820 (Lindsay *Notae Latinae*, p. 373). On the other hand, the position of the super-imposed abbreviation-stroke well to the right¹ is in the ancient manner.

It will be observed that this set of abbreviations agrees, as far as it goes, with the "Regular Abbreviations" practised at St. Martin's in Tours,² with one exception, that for *omnis*, *omnia*; in the Script of Tours the regular form is \overline{oms} , \overline{oma} .³

All instances of abbreviations are noted in the appended transcript of the fragments.

3. Text

The student of Juvenal, in casting his eyes over the text of our fragment *o*, will at once call to mind the mooted readings of the passage.⁴ But first let us mention the important manuscripts, to most of which we refer in this paper. They are:

I. THE SUPERIOR GROUP

P = *Montepessulanus*, 125, *olim Pithocanus*, saec. IX. Written at Lorsch (about 875, in the opinion of Miss Adele Kibre). Chatelain, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXVII.

*P*¹ = the original hand before correction. *p* = correctors of *P*, probably three, contemporary or a bit later.

Arov = fragments from Aarau, Switzerland, saec. X (Wessner).

B = Paris, B. N. 8072 *olim Pithocanus*, saec. X. From Saint-Furcy. The MS. contains two copies of Juvenal, of which the second, though fragmentary, is the one cited. First mentioned by Chatelain, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXVIII, perhaps at the suggestion of F. Nougaret (see C. E. Stuart, *Class. Quart.*, III, 1909, 1-7). Shown by Stuart (see also

¹ E.g. III 88 *collu(m)*; 89 *antheu(m)*, 90 *voce(m)*, 92 *eade(m)*.

² See *Survey*, pp. 27-28.

³ In this detail, *o* agrees with *Orl.* See above, p. 231.

⁴ The most convenient and thorough-going edition of Juvenal's text is that by Natale Vianello in the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*, Turin etc., 1935. In this the labors of Jahn-Buecheler-Lco, Housman, Owen, Labriolle, Beer, Knoche, and others are utilized and discussed.

Nougaret, *Mélanges L. Havel*, 1909, p. 326, N. 1) to be closely related to *P*.
Vind = Vienna 107. *saec.* IX/X; *S* = Scholia to *P* and *Sang* = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 870 (*florilegium*), *saec.* IX.

II. THE INFERIOR GROUP = ψ (HOUSMAN)

A = Mon. 408, *saec.* XI; *F* = Paris, B. N. lat. 8071, *saec.* X;

G = Paris, B. N. lat. 7900A, *saec.* X (IX? see Vianello p. xlvi);

L = Leyden 82, *saec.* XI; *O* = Oxford, Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41, *saec.* XI/XII (the famous MS. in which the new fragments of *Sat.* VI were discovered by Winstedt in 1899); *T* = Cambridge, Trin. Coll., O, IV, 10, *saec.* X; *U* = Rome, Vat. lat. Urb. 661, *saec.* X.

On some of the significant readings, alas, our fragment throws no light. If we had its full evidence on *ac iura* (II 43) *nam* (45), *Mevia* (49), *Hispo* (50), *Fabulla* (68), *iubet* (III 37), *trechedipna* (67), *fert* (68), *miseris* (78), *signabit* (82), we could probably ally it definitely either with the class best represented by *P*, the queen of the manuscripts, or with the inferior class ψ , which despite its inferiorities has independent value. But in all of these crucial places the reading of our fragment was carried away or rubbed into nothing when the parchment leaf was stripped from the wooden cover.

But other readings are more indicative. Thus, in the *merito vitia ultima* of line II 34 our script preserves (*m ia ultim(a)*). There is hardly room in the space after *merito* for more than *uit* — not enough for *omnia* or *om̃a* (the abbreviation used in III 77). *o*, therefore, here agrees with ψ , which is right, for once, in having no signs of this gloss on *ultima* that has left its mark on *P B O*.

In II 68 we find *polit* for *Pollittas*. There is clearly only one *l*. The last three letters, *tas*, are obliterated, but we can see at least that *o* does not commit the error of ψ (*polliucas*, *pollutas*, etc.). On the other hand, *o* steers clear of other failings of *P* besides that just noticed in II 34. It shows only *rrigine* of *porrigine* (II 80), but that much avoids the *prurigine* of *P*, which error is committed, independently, it would seem, by some of the ψ manuscripts. Similarly *o* has *audebis* (II 82), not *audebit* (*P*¹); *obsta(bit)* (III 60), not *extabit* (*P Arov.*); (*Ac*)*h(a)ei* (III 61), not *achaeae* (*P Arov. Vind. BOU*).¹ In III 37, where *P*¹ *Arov B U Vind* have *cum iubet* and the others *quem lubet*, the first word in *o*, though most of the line has disappeared, was *cum*. The *m* is clear,

¹ In some of these *achiui* is written above the line.

and though the letter preceding is dubious, it is the first letter after the place for the initial in the line.¹ The initial therefore would have been either *c* or *q*, and the reading *cum*, or, as in some of the manuscripts cited, *qum*, but not *quam* as in ψ ; for there is not space enough for that before the *m*. *o* therefore lines up with the better class of manuscripts in this instance, as it does in III 58 with *nu* (nunc *P Arov B Vind O non* ψ). In another case, however, it goes with the inferior class.² III 79: in summa] *P¹ S Arov¹ B ad summam P Arov² Vind* ψ . Here, however, we see at least that *ad summam* appears by the second hand in *P Arov*, and that though the lemma in the scholium is IN SUMMA, the phrases in the scholium itself, *ad postremum*, *ad ultimum*, indicate that the note was originally made up for *ad summam*. Both readings may well have come down from antiquity.

With these indications, then, that *o* belongs with the manuscripts of the better class and not with ψ and that occasionally it avoids the errors of one or more of the better class, let us note the following readings in confirmation of this estimate.

- II 44 Scantinia] *sca (cet. evanida) o cantinia P B*
 III 39 ad] *o B et P Arov*
 40 iocari] *o locari P B S*
 51 nil] *o nihil P Arov*
 77 magus] *o macus P Arov B*
 80 sed] *o et P (ut videtur) Arov B*
 Athenis] *o plerique amoenis Arov² B ahivis p in ras.*

We may now venture to return to one of the readings on which our fragment apparently contributed no evidence,³ i.e. II 49: *Mevia*. Such is the form favored by Housman, Owen, and Vianello, though it is given only by *p*.⁴ *Media*, accepted by Leo and Labriolle, is given by *P¹ B S*, while ψ read *tedia*, which nobody, to our knowledge, accepts. In our fragment the second letter is a good round *o*. Next is a circular stroke, presumably part of an *e*, after which either *vi* or *di* came in before the final *a*, thus leaving either *oevia* or *oedia* to add to

¹ On the absence of initials in *o*, see above, p. 237.

² There is also the spelling *pennas* for *pinnas* in III 80. But granting that Juvenal's spelling was *pinnas*, the error might have easily been made by several scribes independently.

³ Above, pp. 240.

⁴ The earliest of the correctors according to Vianello.

an initial *M* or *T*. We submit that the most probable combination is *Moevia*, a misspelling for *Maevia* or *Mevia*,¹ an appropriate name for the female in question, thus placed in the tribe of *Maevius*. A namesake, or the lady herself, has appeared in *Satire* I 22, and a great editor like Friedlaender (Leipzig, 1895), who knows the insides and the entourage of Juvenal's work, while making the identification only tentatively, does not hesitate to read *Mevia* in *Satire* II 49.² We may, therefore, not with certainty, but with some plausibility, appeal to *o* for a corroboration of the reading *Mevia* (or *Maevia*) found thus far only in *p*.

There is the odor of antiquity, further, in two other readings: III 82 *resedit* (*recubet* [*recūbet?*] *ss.*) and III 89, *tenentis ex creanentis*.³ In the first of these passages, the right reading may well be *residet*. It is far more striking than *recumbet*. The nasty upstart not only 'reclines' on a better couch than Juvenal's, but 'settles down' in it, as though he were at home there. The unusual use of the word would call for just such a gloss as *recumbet*, to prevent the unwary from thinking that Juvenal pictured the Greekling as 'sitting down.'⁴

Similarly, an ancient doublet may be preserved in III 89. Something more vigorous than *tenentis* may have been written by Juvenal. we would suggest *prementis*, corrupted into *creanentis* perhaps from Rustic Capital script, in which *P* and *C* are not unsimilar⁵ and AN

¹ Both forms are given in PRE, *Maevius* vol. XXVII (1928) and *Mevius* vol. XXX (1932), with indication that inscriptional evidence favors the latter spelling.

² Another great editor, J. E. B. Mayor (ed. 4, 1886), unfortunately does not print *Sat.* II or the learned comment that he might have devoted to it. On *Sat.* I 22 he does refer to II 53, but that does not prove (what we think likely) that he read *Mevia* in l. 49.

³ We speak with due reserve, since neither of these suggestions has commended itself to Professor G. L. Hendrickson, *vir et Iuvenalis et ceterorum omnium satirarum auctorum litterate peritus*.

⁴ The scribe has of course confused *e* and *i*, as often occurs in books of the late Empire or the early Middle Ages. Or the change to the perfect tense may have been deliberate if *signabit* had already been altered to *signavit*. One might get along with perfects (gnomic perfects) in an exclamatory sentence instead of futures in a question — though this is a less probable construction. *Recumbet* is a gloss on a future tense. A mediaeval scribe would know the word, e.g. from the New Testament (*Ioh.*, 13, 23).

⁵ Probably for the same reason *P* in XV 27 has *iunpo* for *iunco*. For other in-

is not far from M. If such is the case, then Hercules not merely 'held' but 'squeezed' the neck of Antaeus. *Tenentis* may be either a gloss on *prementis* or a desperate attempt to make sense of *crea-nentis*, found in the archetype that started the course of mediaeval copying.¹

Our fragment, therefore, belongs obviously with the better class of manuscripts, whatever their family affiliations.² We have noted the close connection between *P* and *B*.³ Even closer is that between *Arov* and *P*.⁴ Not only are their readings of the same order in both the text of Juvenal and the scholia, but they show the same number of lines on the page⁵ and, more than that, they have the same allotment of text on corresponding pages. Thus in the second of the five fragments from Aarau, the recto of the leaf contains *Sat.* II 35-63, and just that amount occurs in *P*, on fol. 20^r; and so with all the other Aarau fragments in their relation to *P*.⁶ But the reader has not forgotten that *o* also has 29 lines on the page, and moreover that the same column-content (III 35-63) appears on Page B, col. 1. The second column also could have contained the same amount as in *Arov* and *P*

dications that *P* may have descended from a manuscript in Rustic Capitals with the *scriptura continua*, see Vianello, p. XLII, and in greater detail, R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*, Lipsiae, 1885, pp. 13-14.

¹ Juvenal elsewhere (XIV 221) uses *premere* in the sense of 'to strangle' as other poets do; e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 289, of Hercules and the snakes, and in accounts of Antaeus by Ovid, *Ibis* 395, Statius, *Theb.* VI 868 (passages cited for us by Professor A. S. Pease) and Lucan, *Phars.*, IV 627, 648.

² For various stemmata see Vianello, *op. cit.*, pp. LIII-LV and Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 51. U. Knoche, whose examination of the manuscripts of Juvenal deserves all praise, now modifies the precision of his work (*Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals*, Berlin, 1926; see his stemma as reported by Vianello, p. LIII), in favor of a series of intersecting circles that put the mind of the reader in a whirl (*Hermes*, LXIII [1928], 362). Our material is, of course, most scanty and all determinations of family-connections are only provisional, but it is for us to present in clear form the evidence as far as it goes; it is profitless to stemmatize all the uncertain possibilities.

³ Above, pp. 239-40.

⁴ H. Wirz, "Handschriftliches zu Juvenal," *Hermes*, XV (1880), 437-448, and, after a fresh and most thorough examination of both *P* and *Arov*, R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*, Lipsiae, 1885, pp. 25-33. See also P. Wessner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora*, Lipsiae, 1931, pp. X-XI.

⁵ 29. *B* has 18.

⁶ The details are given by Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

(III 64-92), had not our scribe omitted (or found omitted) l. 78 and thus could include l. 93 besides.¹

Without attempting a complete investigation of this matter, we would suggest that our fragment comes from the same old manuscript from which *P*, *Arov*, *B*, and the other members of their group descend, and that, since these manuscripts have committed errors from which *o* is free,² they all derive from one copy of that ancient source, whereas *o* derives either from another copy or from the original itself. One of its features, the presence of scholia, may not have been adopted by *o*; for otherwise it would not have crowded two columns on the page — still we know not the breadth of its margins. In its text, once more, *o* seems closer than any of its confederates to the ancient archetype from which they all descend.

4. *Summary of characteristics — Fleury*

After the foregoing analysis of our fragment, we venture, with due reserve, to acclaim in the remnants of script impressed on the board covers of a manuscript of Fleury, one of the oldest and one of the best representatives of the text of Juvenal. A glance at the dates of the manuscripts cited above (pp. 239-40) or in the lists of Knoche³ or Vianello⁴ and the other editors will reveal no mediaeval manuscript for which so early a date is claimed as the second quarter of the ninth century, at which time, if our estimate is correct, this script was put upon the leaves now torn away.⁵

¹ The slip on the part of *o* is a good illustration of the pitfalls that attend the calculator of manuscript-contents from the evidence of a page or two. On the other hand, if a somewhat complicated calculation comes out *almost* all right, it is legitimate to allow for a few lapses on the part of the scribe, like this dropping of a line.

² Above, p. 235, n. 1.

³ *Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals*, p. [i].

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. LXIII-LXVII.

⁵ Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, assigns *P* to the middle of the ninth century, and thinks *Vind* even earlier (p. 35). Beer became a most eminent palaeographer, but his judgment of *P*, declared in 1885, can hardly outweigh that of an expert on the School of Lorsch (above, p. 239). There are of course the two specimens of ancient majuscule, *Fragm. Bobbiense* (saec. IV^{ex}) and *Fragm. Ambrosianum* (saec. VI) (Vianello, pp. XLIII-XLIV) that contain parts of *Sat.* XIV and XV with readings good and bad. There is also the papyrus fragment recently discovered in Egypt, probably saec. V, containing *Sat.* VII 149-198 and, again, a mixture of readings. See C. H. Roberts, *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.* XXI (1935), 199-207.

Nor could Fleury hitherto call for special notice in accounts of Juvenal's vogue in the early Middle Ages. One might take it for granted that such a library could have a copy of such an author, but the earliest writer from Fleury to quote Juvenal, so far as one can discover, is the learned Abbot Abbo of the tenth century, who cites a verse from *Satire VI* (373) in his *Quaestiones Grammaticales*.¹ Even then, in a work of this sort, the author may not be citing directly.

A similar story is told by the catalogues of mediaeval libraries. What may be the earliest list of the books of Fleury to contain a Juvenal² is found on the last page of Berne 433 (*olim Floriacensis*), a manuscript of the treatise *Ad Herennium*. The manuscript itself is ascribed by most scholars to the tenth century, but probably Chate-lain is correct in assigning it to the ninth.³ The script of the book-list, from all accounts, is surely not earlier than the tenth century, and may be of the eleventh. Two items among the 46 are of interest to us.

No. 17. I. iuvenalis cum persio in uno uol.

No. 46. commentum super iuvenalem.⁴

There are no earlier catalogues of the monastery than this,⁵ and even

¹ § 17. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CXXXIX, 658 C. See Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte röm. Dichter im Mittelalter," *Philol.*, L (1891), 359. Nothing new appears in subsequent discussions of this topic, e.g. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, I (third. ed., 1921), pp. 644 f., 687.

² Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVIII (1892) *Suppl.*, 66-68.

³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. XVI. 2.

⁴ The catalogue was first published by H. Hagen, *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, XCIX (1869), 511-12, though he did not associate it with Fleury. Reprinted by G. Becker, *Catal. Bibl. Antiq.*, 1885, No. 45, to whom it also was from an "*incognita bibliotheca*." Ch. Cuissard was the first to make the identification. See his *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans*, 1885, pp. 212-213, and *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, XII (1889), pp. V-VI, where he gives only 40 of the 46 items.

⁵ Cuissard (*Inventaire*, pp. 209-211; *Catalogue*, pp. III-IV) prints, after Hagen, *loc. cit.*, as a "catalogue du IX^e siècle," a list from "Berne ms. 3." This is the famous "Alcuinian" Bible written at Tours (*Survey*, p. 133). The list is really found in the second volume of the Bible, Berne 3^b (so Hagen, now called 4) on fol. 54^v. It is the product of two hands, as Hagen saw, one of the "tenth" and the other of the "eleventh" century. (When I inspected these lists, I dated them eleventh and twelfth century respectively. E. K. R.)

for this, in Carey's opinion, the case is not clear. The evidence of the catalogues for the presence of Juvenal at Fleury in the early Middle Ages may therefore be entirely negative. The first on which we may rely is that of 1552, made providentially just before the Huguenot assault in 1561. It has among its 300 entries three of manuscripts of Juvenal,¹ but these had vanished before the catalogue of 1656 was compiled, since that lists nothing of Juvenal.²

We can find, therefore, no indication, even of an inferential character, of the presence of a Juvenal at Fleury before the tenth century. Now for the first time we can see — albeit in a mirror darkly — two pages of an actual book written in the ninth century at the monastery of St. Benedict on the Loire.

5. *The Fragment's Origin*

Why were leaves of a good manuscript of Juvenal used as mere binding-covers at some time in the early Middle Ages? We may dismiss the idea that bigoted monks were thus wreaking vengeance on a Pagan foe. On the contrary, as we have made clear, the ancient authors were an ineradicable part of mediaeval education. At about the time that our manuscript was written, the scribes of Fleury were copying a book of similar external appearance. Like it, this manuscript³ contains broad margins which are filled with glosses, but the glosses are not on the Virgilian poetry of Christians. The poetry is that of Virgil himself, and the glosses are those of the larger form of Servius's commentary. The text of Virgil is treated with the same veneration, the same loving care, as that of the Christian authors.

We must suppose, therefore, not that a manuscript of Juvenal was dismembered to help out a binding, but that the leaves were mere fragments at the time when they were so used. If those scholars are right who assign the manuscript to the tenth century, it is possible to

¹ Nos. 114, 120, 224. From Paris, B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 137; Cuissard, *op. cit.*, pp. VII-XVIII.

² Cuissard, *op. cit.*, pp. XVIII-XXIV.

³ Paris, B. N. 7929. This famous manuscript ("F"), which is the second part of Berne 172, has been dated *saec.* IX/X or X, by editors of Virgil or of Servius; see J. J. Savage in these *Studies*, XLIII (1932), 96. If *Orl* proves to be of the later period — or of the earlier period (see above, p. 231) — the result would help determine the date of *F*.

suppose that a codex written nearly a hundred years before had somehow gone to pieces and that not much else, if anything, besides the two leaves, was on hand in the scriptorium at the time that the book was bound. And, of course, the binding itself may, after all, be later than the book. Would that we could tell the difference between a binding of the ninth century and one of the tenth!

For the sake of argument (not merely for argument's sake) let us assume the hardest conditions to explain, i.e. the earlier date for both book and binding. Of course, it is not probable that leaves of a manuscript written about 825 A.D. would have become detached and isolated only a few years later. So far as the character of the parchment is concerned, we should not imagine that a book of that period had fine and fragile leaves like some ancient codex. A manuscript of such leaves as the Juvenal had would hardly have just worn away and died a natural death at the end of the decade. Rather, this fragmentary condition is due to some accident. Possibly the two leaves represent a faulty double copying. If more than one copy of some valued book were made for several monasteries at the same time, such mistakes might occur. We do not know all the secrets of a mediaeval scriptorium. Perhaps we should be content with Dante's

State contenti, humana gente, al *quia*.

But, in order to raise an incidental question, which to the best of our knowledge has not been discussed, let us recall, if we can, the actual process of copying. After a gathering, or two leaves of it, had been ruled, how did the work of the scribe proceed? He hardly placed the whole quire, or two leaves of it, on the tablet as he wrote. He would also have had an uneasy surface if he worked only one double-leaf *if that leaf were folded*. It would be more convenient to spread out that double-leaf, inscribe its pages in their order, and fold it with its fellow double-leaves only after they were all inscribed. If the copyist were at work on the middle-leaf of the gathering, he could do the right half of the outside, wait till that was dried, continue with the two pages within and then add the remaining page on the outside. In some cases, he might be tempted to do this last page immediately after finishing the first one, so that the outside would be all done when he turned it over. He could safely so proceed, if he could calculate ahead

just what the last page was to contain, as would be easy enough if his text were poetry with a definite number of verses on each page. In that case he could adopt the method just described, not merely for the middle double-leaf, but for any of the others — only he would have to be careful that his calculation was correct. And even if his text was prose, the feat was not impossible, particularly if he was instructed in advance as to the contents not only of a gathering but of each leaf, or even each page. Every student of manuscripts must have noted many cases of writing for space not only on the last page of a gathering, but of pages within it.

Let us suppose, then, that our scribe selects a double-leaf for the middle of a gathering, and writes on the right-hand page of the outside the contents of Page A of our fragment — two columns containing *Sat.* II 32–60 and 61–89. He then reckons, but reckons wrongly, that the amount to inscribe on the page at the left (our Page B) is *Sat.* III 35–63, 64–92. What has he done? With a manuscript having a column of 29 lines on a page as his model, he hastily calculates double that number for the two inner pages, forgetting for the moment that each of those pages should bear twice the amount that the model contained. After finishing Page B (incidentally omitting l. 78 — for he is not a perfect copyist) he discovers his error. What shall he do? The director of the scriptorium does not like the thought of suddenly putting a *single* column on each of the inner pages. He therefore rejects this double-leaf — naturally the rubricator is not called in to add the initials at the beginning of the lines.¹ But the double-leaf is not thrown in the waste-paper basket — there were no waste-paper baskets in those happy days. It has a useful purpose to serve. It was retained to complete a binding, and so was used for a book written not long after — the volume on whose covers we see the traces of those leaves today. Their outer surface of course bore no script. They added the finishing touch to a neat binding.

The gentle reader will understand that we have no documentary proof of all this. We are merely imagining a very natural accident that might have occurred. In case the ultimate account of the script of Fleury that we expect from Professor Carey should, after all, place the fragment of Juvenal and the manuscript of Arator in the same

¹ See above, p. 237.

period, the occurrence of some such accident as that described would enable us to understand how the rejection of the leaves from the one book and their inclusion in the binding of the other might even have occurred within the self-same week.

6. *The Fragment's later history*

When did some keen-eyed prowler among the secrets of ancient manuscripts note traces of script under the white surface of the covering leaves and strip them off? The discovery was not made, so far as we can ascertain, in recent times. Cuissard in his account¹ of this manuscript of Orléans makes no reference to these ink-soaked lids. No modern editor includes these fragments among his ninth-century items. Neither Beer nor Knoche nor Wessner lists them,² nor has mention of them been found in the earlier literature.³

There is one sure bit of evidence that the stripping was done before the second decade of the eighteenth century. On Page A (Plates G, H) appears the notation 800 *antiq.* At first this looks like a press-mark, as though the manuscript were No. 800 in a *fonds* of *libri antiqui*. The lettering has the flavor of the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century, and as a glance at those plates will show, it was added after the leaf had been removed; for the part of the covering parchment on which it appears must have been originally under the leaf. This deduction has been partly confirmed and partly corrected by information kindly furnished in a letter of December 4, 1937 by Monsieur J. Boussard, librarian of the Bibliothèque de la Ville d'Orléans. The entry is not a press-mark, but it was inscribed in the eighteenth century. It is one of several of the same kind, some being more explicit than this. In MS. 20 (19), first-fly-leaf *recto*, it is 800 *antiquit.* (i.e. *antiquitatis*). This is an attempted designation of the age of the manuscript at the time when the note was added. Such was the inconvenient method in vogue from Mabillon's day down to the publication in 1715 of the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* by Montfaucon, who first treated the birth-days of books like those of men.⁴ But the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

² See above, pp. 239, n. 4, 243, n. 2, 4.

³ E.g. K. F. Hermann, *Disputatio de codicibus Juvenalis recte existimandis*, Göttingae, 1847; *Vindiciae Juvenilianae*, *ibid.*, 1854.

⁴ Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I (1909), 28-38.

innovation had not as yet been adopted at the library of Orléans. Another of the entries, in MS. 19 (16), first fly-leaf, *verso*, is still more explicit: *Habet annos 1000. Constat variis frgmentis (sic) pretiosis Sacrae Scripturae*. Two others add the date of entry: *800 ad minus annorum 1724*¹ and *700 annos circiter antiquitatis habet 1724*.² This librarian of the eighteenth century would therefore agree with the modern authorities cited above³ that our book was written in the tenth century.

On what occasion before 1724 were the leaves taken from the cover? We can only hazard a guess. The last part of the codex, as has been pointed out above, is at present at Leyden among the *Vossiani*. It was, therefore, one of the manuscripts which Isaac Voss collected for Queen Christina of Sweden, with some for himself.⁴ It belonged to one of the dismembered books of Fleury. The complete story of the dismemberment of the *libri olim Floriacenses* remains to be told. When one sees the latter half of an unimportant fourteenth-century copy of Macer, *De Herbarum Virtutibus* bound up with the Fleury copy of Virgil and Servius,⁵ and the first half united with a score of miscellaneous fragments to make up another volume,⁶ one is inclined to attribute the division of such a manuscript rather to accident than to design. Had the Huguenot looters of the monastery of Fleury severed some of the Papist books with the sword to catch the flames more quickly in the holocaust? And did Pierre Daniel, interrupting that bonfire just in time, make various misalliances in his hasty reassembling of the books? Or did he, however, in some of the new groupings have in mind the desires of the various friends to whom the manuscripts went later? He surely inspected some of the treasures of Fleury with an enlightened curiosity, such as the two books to which reference has just been made,⁷ which helped to supply him with a new and

¹ MS. 14 (11), first fly-leaf, *verso*.

² MS. 16 (13), first fly-leaf, *verso*.

³ Pp. 231.

⁴ The latest account of the fate of the library of Fleury and the journeying of the books of the Queen to Rome is that of Dom Wilmart in his magisterial catalogue of the *Codices Reginenses Latini* published (1937) by the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, pp. VII-XII.

⁵ B. N. lat. 7929, foll. 127-133. See above, p. 246, n. 3.

⁶ B. N. lat. 1750.

⁷ See the preceding notes.

enlarged text of Servius's commentary on Virgil.¹ Other dismemberments, and especially other reassemblings, may have been due to Paul and Alexandre Petau, into whose hands so many of the resewed volumes passed.² We do not know whether either of them ever looked inside our manuscript of Orléans which apparently has always remained at Orléans — except for a brief trip to Paris in the summer of 1937. Perhaps some scholar noticed the leaves on the covers at some later time, prior to the inspection of the book by the librarian of 1724. They may yet be hiding in their ancient home. But if Daniel saw them and stripped them off to join the collection sent to Paul Petau, possibly some *scopritor felice*, like Mrs. Tenney Frank³ or Professor Carey,⁴ may come across them in Paris or Leyden or Berne or Rome.

¹ The famous *Scholia Danielis*, published in 1600.

² For an interesting case, see Mrs. Tenney Frank, *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, XLIV (1923), 70.

³ Cf. her discovery of the introductory part of Leyden, *Voss. Q* 86 in *Vat. Reg. lat.* 333, *op. cit.*, *A. J. P.*, XLIV, 67-70.

⁴ He similarly reunited *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1616 and 208. See *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LVII (1926), 96-106.

TRANSLITERATION

Juvenal, *Sat.* II 32-60

- 32 (c)ū tot abortiuis fecu(nd)ā i(uli)a u(l)uā
33 (s)oluer& & pat(r)uo sim(i)le(s) effu(nder& offas
34 (n)onne ig(itur iu)r(e) ac m(erito uit)ia ultim(a)
fic(tos)
35 (c)ontem(nunt) sc(aur)os & (castigata rem)ord(ent)
36 (n)on tulit (ex illis tor)uū laronia quendā
37 (c)lam(antem totie)s ub(i nunc l)ex iulia dormis
38 (a)tq; (ita subridens felicia tempo)ra quae te
39 (m)ori(bus opponunt habeat iam roma pu)dore(m)
40 (tertius e caelo cecidit ca)to sed tamen unde^a
41 (haec emis hirsuto spirant opoba)lsama collo
42 (q)uae t(ibi ne pudeat dominum) monstrare tabe^{ne}
43 (q)uod (si ve)xant² leges (ac iura citari)
44 (ante omn)es debet sca(ntinia resp)ice primū
45 (et) scr(ut)are (uiro)s faciunt hi(? na ss.?) plu(ra sed illo)s
46 (de)fe(ndit) numerū iuncteq; umb(one phalanges)
47 (m)ag(na i)nté(?)r molles concordia no(n erit ullum)
48 (exemplum in no)stro tā detestabile (sexu)
49 (?)oe(?)uī)a non lābit cluiā nec flora catullā
50 (hispo subit) iuuenes & morbo pallet utroq;
51 (n)u(mquid) nos agim causas ciuilia iura
52 (nouimus) aut u(llo str)epi(tu fora ue)stra moveim

- 83 (n)emo repente fuit turp(is)sim¹ accipiet te
 84 (paulati)m qui longa do(mi) redimicula sumunt
 85 (fro)n(tibus) & toto posuere m(on)ilia collo
 86 (a)tq(ue b)onam tenere placant (ab)domine p(orcae)
 87 (et m)agno c(ratere) deam se(d) m(ore) sinistro
 88 (exa)gitat(a procul) no(n i)ntrat fe(mina) limen
 89 (solis ara) deae (maribus) pat& ite (prof)anae

BACK INSIDE COVER

COLUMN A

Juvenal, *Sat.* III 35-63

- 35 (p)erp(etui c)omites (notaeque) p oppida b(uccae)
 36 (m)un (era) nō (edunt et uerso pol)lice (u)lgu
 37 (c)u(?)m (iubet) o(ccidunt populariter inde reuersi)
 38 (co)nducunt (foricas et cur non omnia cum sint)
 39 (q)uales ex(hu)mi(l)i magna ad fastigia (rerum)
 40 (ex)toll(i)t quot(i)ens uoluit fortuna ioc(ari)
 41 (q)uid rom(a)e faciā mentiri nescio librū
 42 (s)i malus ē nequeo laudare & poscere mot¹
 43 (a)stororū ignoro funus pmittere patris
 44 (n)ec uolo nec possū ra(na)rū uisce(ra) nūquā
 45 (i)nspexi ferre ad n(u)ptā que m(itt)it adulter
 46 (q)uē mandat nor(un)t alii me nemo ministro
 47 (f)ur erit atq; idō nulli comes exeo tāquā
 48 (m)ancus & extinctę corpus non utile dextrę
 49 (q)u(is n)unc diligīt² nisi conscius et cui fervens
 50 (a)est(uat) occ(u)ltis anim¹ sī^epq; (i in e?) tacendis
 51 (n)il tibi se debere putat nil confer& ūquā
 52 (p)articipē qui te sec(reti) fec(it) honesti
 53 (c)a¹r e(rit) uerri qui uerrē tēpore quo uult
 54 (a)ccusare potest tanti tibi non sit (opaci)
 55 (o)mīs harena tagi qđq; (in) mare uoluit¹ (aur)ū
 56 (u)t somno careas ponā^endaque p̄mia sumas
 57 (t)risti(s et a ma)gno sēp (timear)is amico

- 87 (s)ermonē indocti facie(m) deformis amici
 88 (et lo)ngū inualidi collū ceruicib; aequat
 89 (herc)u(le)s antheū pcul a tellure ~~cre~~tenentis ¹
 90 (m)ira²t uocē angustā qua dete(r)ius ne(c)
 91 (i)lle sonat quo mordet² g(allina mar)ito
 92 (h)aec eadē lic& (et nobis) la(udare se)d illis
 93 (c)redit² an m(elior) cū t(haida sustinet) aut cū

¹ I.e. tenentis *ex* creanentis.

APPENDIX B

"HOW MANY LEAVES AT A TIME?"

I HAVE found so much uncertainty expressed by some of my friends on this matter that an attempt at clarification may be not amiss. The terms Old Style and New Style are appropriate for the Script of the School of Tours, although, as pointed out in *Survey* (p. 17), "*N. S.*" was really a revival of ancient practice. Possibly the letters may be retained on the understanding that they suggest art rather than chronology, standing for "Ordinary Style" and "Neat Style" — as well they might. In *O. S.* between any two leaves, one sees ridges confronting grooves. In *N. S.*, ridges confront ridges and grooves, grooves, an arrangement that merely carries further the principle of matching hair-side with hair-side and flesh-side with flesh-side ("Rule I," discovered by Gregory).

A convenient method for distinguishing the two methods is adopted by Dom Wilmart, in his catalogue of the *Codices Regenses Latini*.¹ He denotes *O. S.* by the symbols > > or > > > >, according to the number of leaves ruled together; one has a picture of ridges confronting grooves on the adjacent leaves. *N. S.*, correspondingly, is denoted by > <, which shows opposing ridges. Possibly the symbol) (would be even clearer; but I will adopt in the present note that devised by Dom Wilmart.

O. S. is easy enough to detect in most cases, and so is the number of leaves ruled at a time. Correspondences in the eccentricities in ruling occur, such as the projection of the text-lines beyond the column-lines, or a deviation of the column-lines from the perpendicular. These or other inaccuracies noted on the recto of the first leaf of the gathering would appear, less distinctly, on the recto of the second leaf, or if more than two were ruled at a time, on those that followed, with a constantly diminishing clearness. The number of > symbols employed denotes, as remarked above, the number of leaves ruled at a time; > > = 2 *O. S.*, > > > > = 4 *O. S.* and so on. The direction of the

¹ See above, p. 250, n. 4. First proposed by him in *Speculum*, VI (1931), 581.

symbol indicates the leaf on which the ruling is done (e. g. $< < < < = 4$ *O. S.* from within) and the varying arrangements of 2 *O. S.* are clearly shown by $> > < <$, $< < < <$ etc. Unless the contrary is stated, it may be assumed that the ruling was done on the hair-side of the leaf, though it is probably better to follow Lowe's explicit statements in *C. L. A.*, "Ruling on the hair-side," "Ruling on the flesh-side," as the case may be.

N. S. is less easy to detect. Before ruling, the two double leaves — probably not more than two were ruled *N. S.* — were arranged not as by Rule I, but with the hair-side of the upper leaf uppermost and its flesh-side resting on the hair-side of the under double-leaf. The ruling was then done on the hair-side of the outer double-leaf. When rearranged in accordance with Rule I, the pair would ordinarily constitute either the two outer or the two inner double leaves of a quaternion.

Obviously it takes longer to find correspondences in *N. S.*, since the under double-leaf is no longer in the same position as that in which it had been ruled. It had been turned over so that its verso, flesh-side, would face the flesh-side of the upper-leaf. This upper-leaf (No. 1) regularly becomes the outer leaf (A-H) in the quaternion, but in the under-leaf (No. 2), what had been a temporary *B^r* now becomes, after being turned, *G^r*. Similarly with the double-leaves No. 3 and No. 4, which, after ruling, are appropriated for the centre of the gathering.

To find correspondences, therefore, one first looks for eccentricities in the ruling of *A^r* and seeks for them on *G^r*, and similarly compares *C^r* with *E^r*. If clear cases are found, correspondences are thus attested for the entire gathering. If they are not clear, perhaps evidence will be noted in *B^v* and *H^v* or *D^v* and *F^v*. The following diagram (Figure 1)¹ shows the position of the leaves at the time of ruling, on the hair-side. The letters (*H^v—A^r*, *F^v—C^r*) on the outer leaves (Nos. 1 and 3) indicate their position both when they were being ruled and after they were assembled in the quaternion. The letters in brackets (*[B^v]*—*[G^r]*, *[D^v]*—*[E^r]*) on the under-leaves (Nos. 2 and 4) indicate the place occupied by these pages when the quaternion was made up.

It is obvious, once more, that coincidences in either *A^r G^r* or *H^v B^v* and in either *C^r E^r* or *F^v D^v* prove that the whole gathering was ruled *N. S.* Or, if clear evidence of a *lack* of correspondence is revealed by

¹ See also the figures in *Survey*, pp. 14-15

these tests, then there is most probably no correspondence in the entire quaternion.¹

Now even when we look in these places, it often happens, as Professor Carey found in his study of the manuscripts written at Reims under Hincmar,² that the quest for correspondences proves disappoint-

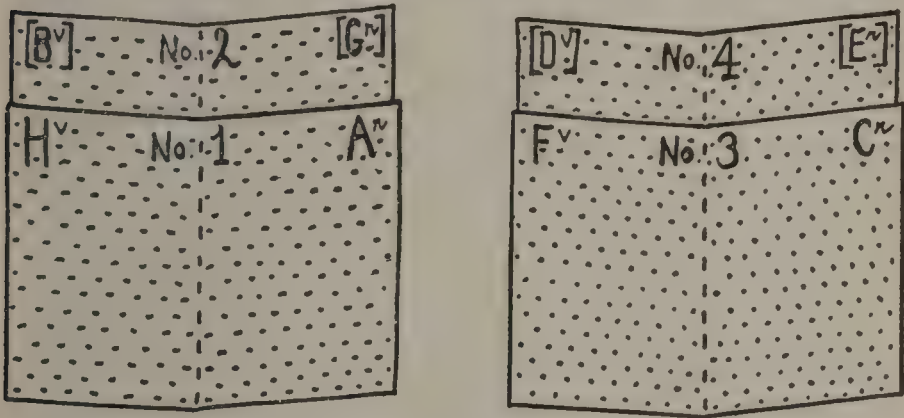


Figure 1

ing or even useless. Sometimes the lines are very regularly or very faintly drawn. Sometimes while a scribe was at work on one of the pair of double-leaves, the other was appropriated by another scribe for a book in the same format that he was copying; there thus are gatherings in which correspondences do not exist.

It is generally not difficult, however, in an *N. S.* manuscript to note the presence of *secondary* rulings. A leaf that bears them was ruled under another and not separately; the existence of a pair of leaves written *N. S.* is thus attested. Of course the difference between primary and secondary rulings is not always easy to make out. If no clear cases are found, it is right to assume that each leaf was ruled

¹ It sometimes happened that after the ruling of leaves 1 and 2, 3 and 4 in two pairs, leaves 1 and 3, 2 and 4 were juxtaposed in forming the quaternion; see "How many Leaves at a Time?" in Lindsay's *Palae. Lat.* V, (1927), p. 70. In that case correspondences should be examined on fol. *A^r* and *C^r*, etc. Other shiftings of the leaves are conceivable, but the investigator will save time by *expecting* to find the situation described above.

² See p. 48 of the excellent *Classical and Mediaeval Studies* written — to my abiding gratitude and delight — by my pupils and friends and published by L. W. Jones (New York, 1938).

separately. If three or four gatherings contain sure instances, then it is reasonable to infer that in a gathering where only primary rulings are found the leaves were drawn separately from a pile. In descriptions of the Rulings, the words *Correspondences* and *Secondary Rulings* (or the opposite) would tell the tale.

I would indicate here an interesting case in a manuscript of Cassiodorus that, prompted by the excellent edition of the *Institutiones* by Mynors,¹ I examined last summer in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The book, *B. N. lat. 2200*, was written about the middle of the ninth century at some monastery that had felt the influence of Tours. The ruling is 2 *N. S.*, but since "Rule II" (the habit of putting the hair-side of the outer double-leaf on the outside) is broken, so that the quaternion begins and ends with a flesh-side, the situation is described not by $> < > <$ but by $< > < >$. Correspondences are easily observable in eight of the eleven gatherings in this manuscript. Perhaps further research will identify the scriptorium where *B. N. 2200* was written. Plate K gives a page of it.

One should be on the look-out for more cases of this sort. Possibly, too, the detection of coincidences may be a clue to the date of a manuscript just as *N. S.* is. As the production of books increased in the mediaeval scriptoria, there would be more piles of leaves available during the process of copying and hence less chance that the same scribe could get both leaves of a pair (unless of course they had both been given him). In my preliminary survey of this matter,² the manuscripts in which sure correspondences appear are most plentiful in the second decade and the first part of the third decade of the ninth century. Possibly that helps to explain why Professor Carey found so few of them at Reims during the regime of Hincmar. (E. K. R.)

¹ Oxford Press, 1936.

² *Op. cit.*, *Palae. Lat.*, V (1927).

ADDENDA

After the printing of this article, my colleague B. M. Peebles pointed out to me certain infelicities in sections IV 1 and 5. The reader should disregard most of the hypothetical argument there contained in favor of the statement of Mr. Peebles appended hereto. Pages A and B may well have occupied the (originally) outer side of a double-leaf and only possibly have been a reject. (E. K. R.)

The foregoing statement from Professor Rand was written in Paris, where he had recently re-examined the manuscript of Orléans. A fresh observation which he then made was briefly reported by him as follows: "On the hypothetical argument of sections IV 1 and 5 above, we should note (Plates H and I) that Page A formed the recto and Page B the verso of their respective leaves, since in A the broader side-margin appeared at the right and in B at the left."

This conclusion is inescapable if the two leaves of Juvenal overlay substantially the entire inner surface of the two covers,¹ and if each of the leaves had not been laterally trimmed in such a way as to leave no indication of the width of its original side-margins.

The new finding, if acceptable, tends to weaken the entire argument of paragraph IV 1, where Pages A and B are treated as verso and recto respectively, with the intervening text of 116 lines spread on the two surfaces of a leaf placed between them. If, as now seems most likely, Page A was a recto and Page B a verso, the *leaves* (folios A and B) to which the single surfaces, *Pages* A and B, belonged might or might not have been halves of the same double-leaf. In the latter case, the disposition of the text within a regular quartenion might have been, in part, as follows: Fol. 1^r col. 1: title for the *Satires*, col. 2: *Sat.* I 1-29; fol. 1^v: I 30-87; fol. 2^r: I 88-145; fol. 2^v: I 146-171, II 1-31 (preceded by a one-line title); fol. 3^r (= Page A): II 32-89; fol. 3^v: II 90-147; fol. 4^r: II 148-170, III 1-34 (preceded by a one-line title); fol. 4^v (= Page B): III 35-93. By leaving our fol. 1 blank and beginning the text on fol. 2^r we then must shift the position of Page A to fol. 4^r and of Page B to fol. 5^v, whereby fols. A and B become the two halves of one double-leaf.² The initial blank (fol. 1) might have been pasted to the inside of the front cover. As has been stated above,³ Carolingian examples of such practice appear not to be wanting.

¹ On August 10, 1938, Professor Rand wrote to me that he had observed "no clear sign . . . of just where the pasted leaf left off."

² For a certain probability in favor of this arrangement, see below, p. 263, n. 1.

³ P. 234, where note, however, that Fleury — if the examples at Orléans thus far studied are typical — did not favor this usage.

Since in each of these arrangements the beginning of the gathering is such that it might have been the beginning of the codex itself, we are not forced to conclude that Persius or any other text preceded the Juvenal, nor are we hindered from assuming the contrary. If the Juvenal did not open the book, the end of the text preceding it might have occupied the greater part of the column to which the title for his *Satires* has been assigned. However, a two-column page whose first column carries nothing but a title is not unknown in French book-design of the early ninth century.¹ If so elaborate a heading was not wanted in this case, the upper part of the column might have been occupied by such a brief text as one of the *Vitae Iuvenalis* — for example, the oldest of them (I^a), which the later hand of the *Pithoeanus* placed after the *Satires*, but which precedes them in Wessner's *UKBZD*,² *Vat. Urb. lat.* 342, and other manuscripts.³ The earliest of these books, the *Londiniensis* (Z), may not be later than the end of the ninth century.⁴ If the scribe of Fleury used for this introductory matter one of his tinier fonts,⁵ he might have added the still shorter *Vita III^a* (found after I^a in *pBD* and in *Vat. Urb. lat.* 342) and still have had room at the bottom of his one column for a modest title.

In section IV 5 Professors McKinlay and Rand have placed us at the elbow of a scribe of Fleury as he was engaged, about 825 A.D., in transcribing an excellent copy of Juvenal. Under their guidance the visit has proved a most instructive one. For in inquiring just what was the scribe's procedure in filling the four pages of each of his sheets, and in suggesting that he worked sheet by sheet (rather than with an already formed gathering), transcribing the pages of each in the order 1, 4, 2, 3,⁶ they have opened up avenues of investigation which will be tempting and profitable to students of *Schriftwesen* and of the transmission of texts. It matters but little whether the case they have adduced is or is not an example of the process which they have clearly and convincingly outlined. Still it should be noted that the example proposed supplies no evidence for such procedure. For, had the scribe been working with the innermost double-leaf of a gathering and had he written on its page 1 the text of our

¹ Ree Rand, *Survey*, Pls. LVII (probably not Turonian), CX.

² In *U*, three *Vitae* precede the *Satires*: I^a, II^b, III^c.

³ See Wessner, *Schol. in Iuv. Vet.*, pp. 1, IX, XXIV-XXVIII, XXXIV-XXXVI.

⁴ See Wessner, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII, and Chatelain cited there.

⁵ See above, p. 237, n. 3.

⁶ Such an order of transcription would have been easily possible in the cases, if any there were, in which a book was reproduced *paginatim*. This argument, if I remember rightly, was suggested to me in conversation by Professor Rand.

The order 4, 1, 2, 3 is possibly more desirable, as showing the scribe, in each surface of the unfolded double-leaf, filling first the left-hand page and then that on the right.



L
 TIONIS SUNT
 AR
 TISOR
 P
 Pronomen. Clericū. Adverbiū. Participiū. Coniunctio. Prepositio. Inter
 rector. Excludit. Principalis. Participii. Verbi. Numeri. Genitivi. Ablativi. Dative. Accusativi. Vocativi. Nominativi. Pronomen. C
 Pronomen. Clericū. Adverbiū. Participiū. Coniunctio. Prepositio. Inter
 rector. Excludit. Principalis. Participii. Verbi. Numeri. Genitivi. Ablativi. Dative. Accusativi. Vocativi. Nominativi. Pronomen. C

PLATE B. Orléans 295, p. 14 (somewhat reduced).



PLATE C. Orléans 270.

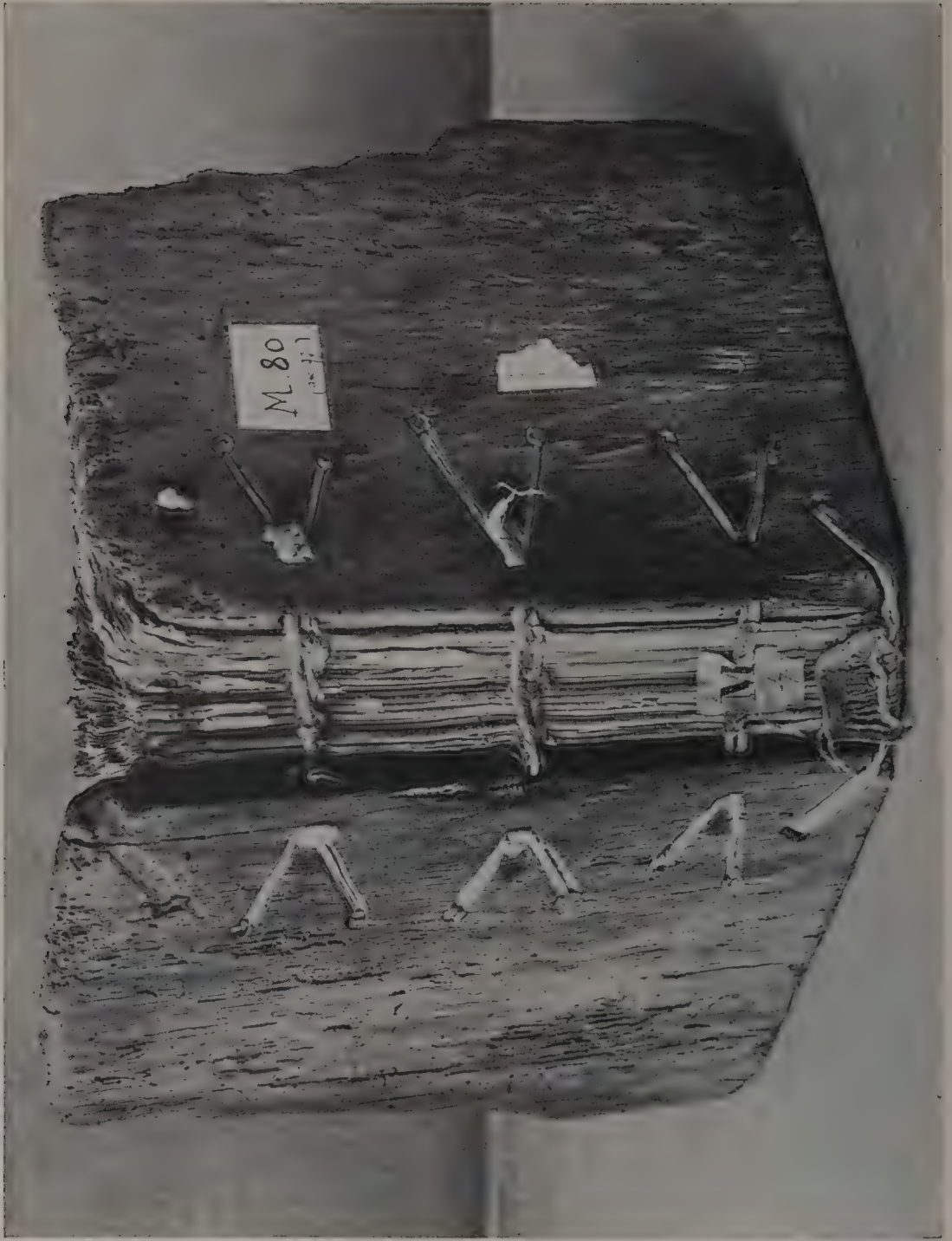


PLATE D. Orléans 80 (greatly reduced).

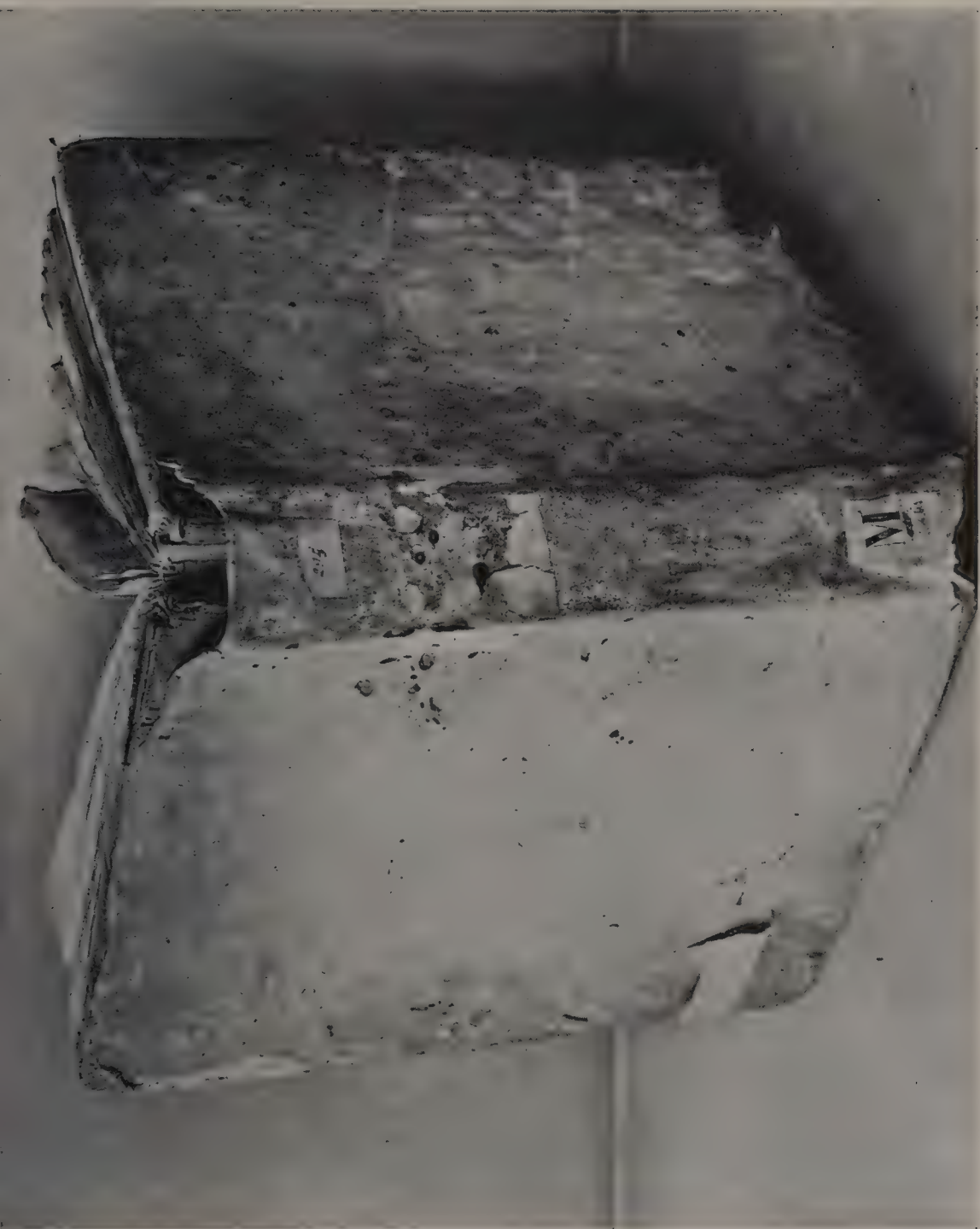


PLATE E. Orléans 295 (greatly reduced).

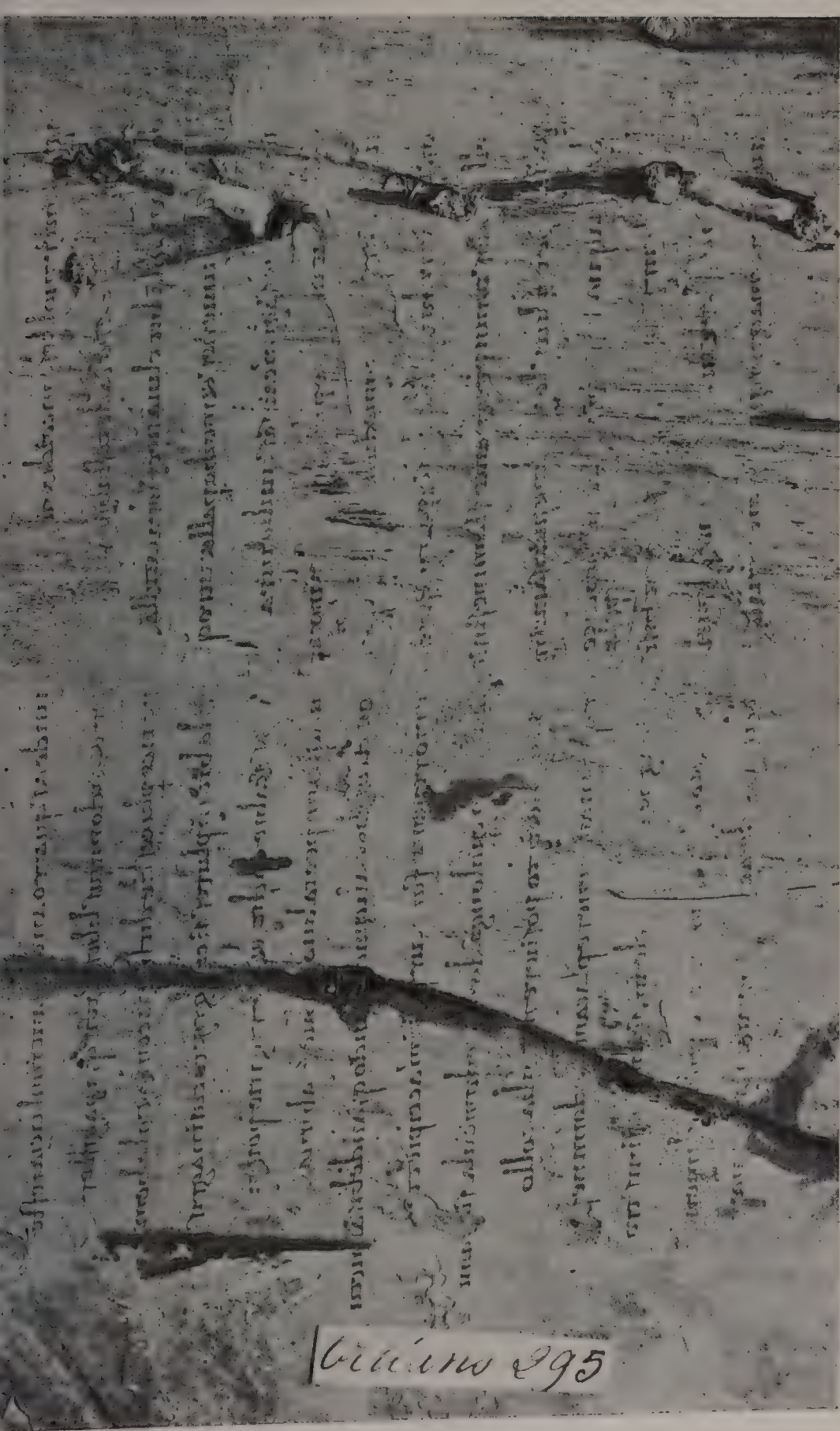


PLATE F. Orléans 270 (greatly reduced).

Orléans 295

800. antiq.

A



Volume 295

t cover, inner side (reduced).

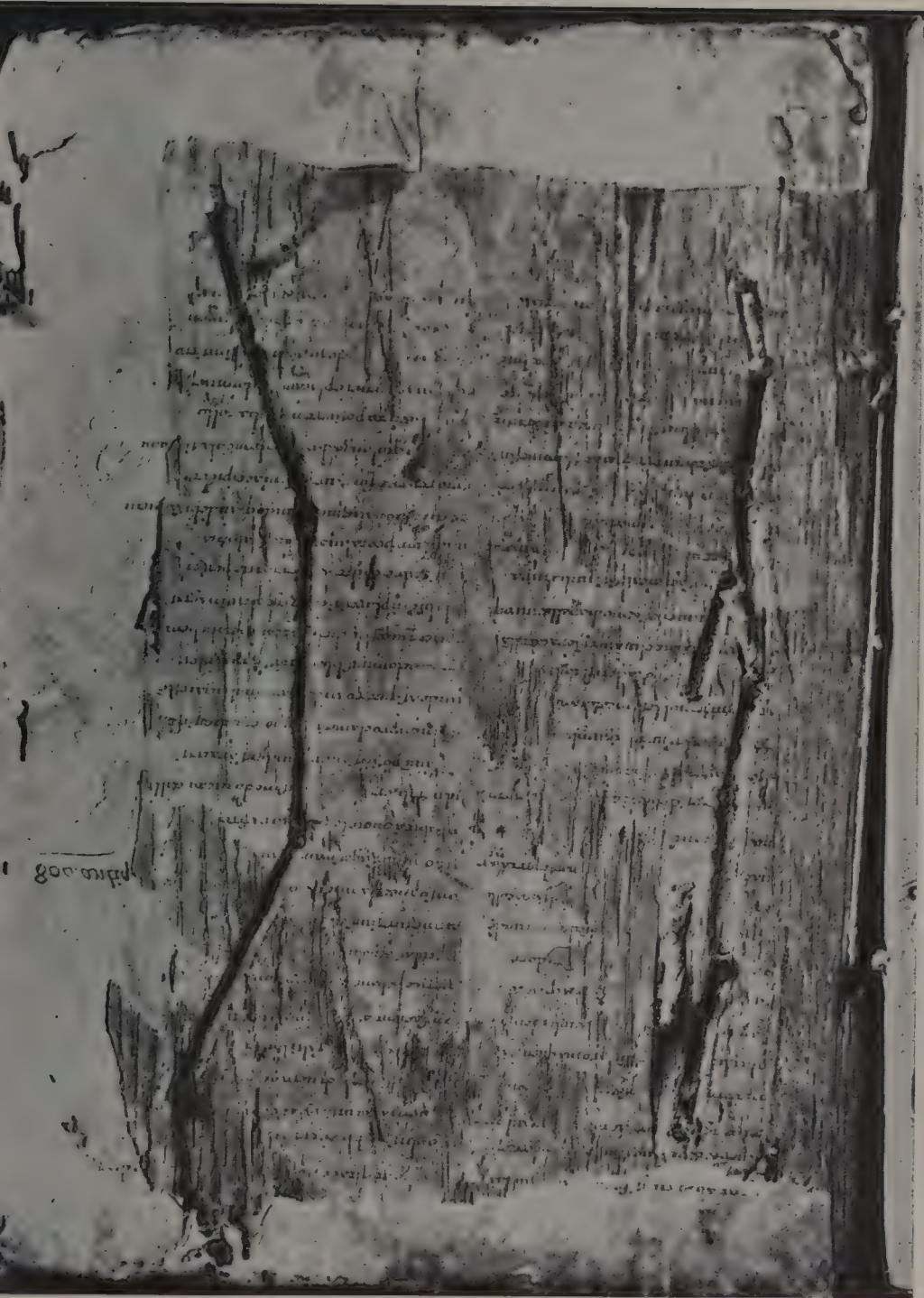


PLATE H. Orléans 295. Front cover, inside. Mirror view (greatly reduced).

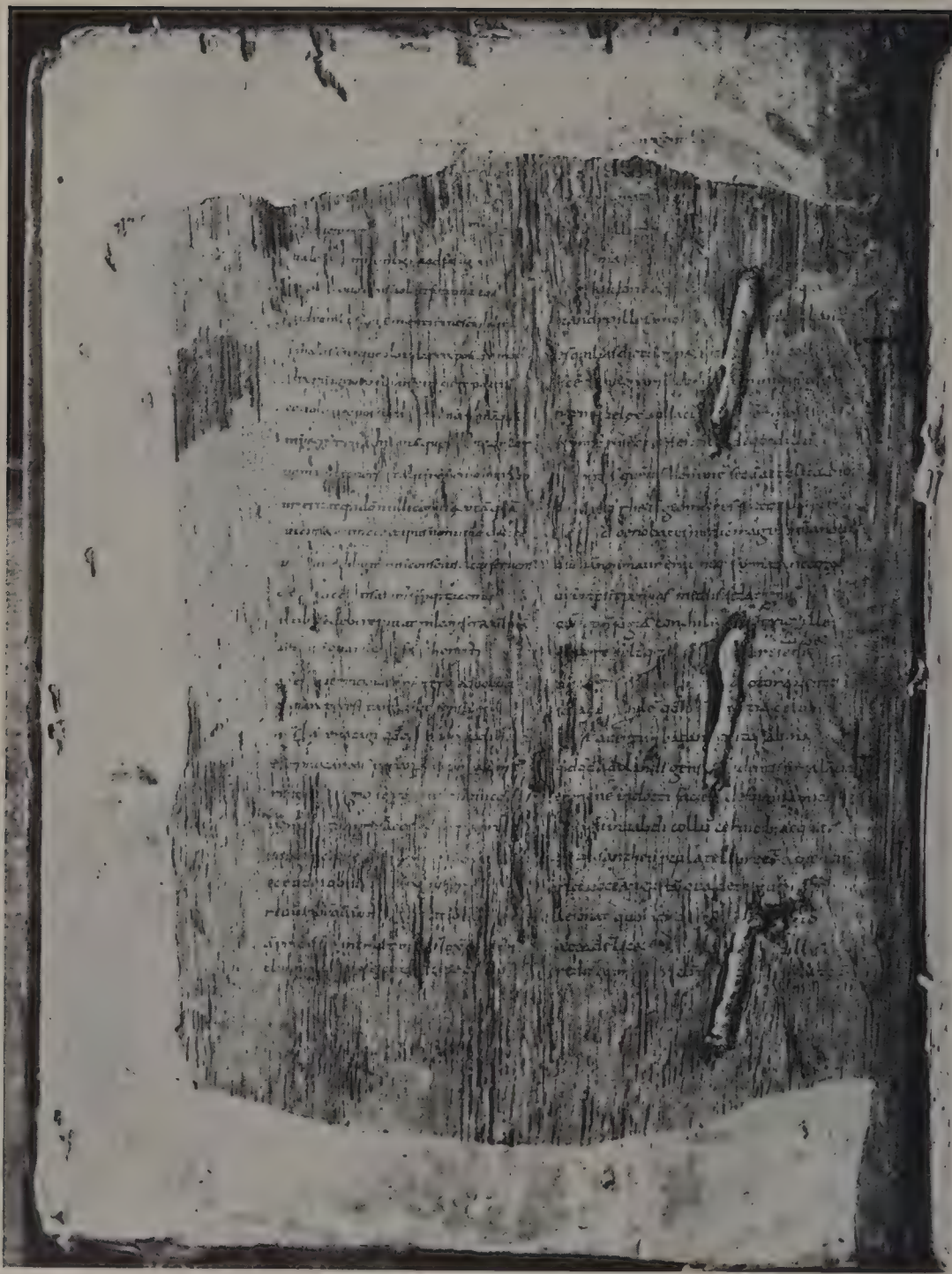


PLATE I. Orléans 295. Back cover, inside. Mirror view (greatly reduced).

COMPENDIUM QVEMADMO
DUM COGNOSCIDEANT
SVBTER ADSCRIPTA:
IN NOMINE DNI NRI IHV XPI
INCIPIT COMPUTVS
PAS CHAL

SINOS SE UIS QUOTIS ANNUS EST AB INCARNATIONE DNI
NRI IHV XPI. Computa triginta sex. per quindecim.
fiunt quingenti. quadraginta. his semper adde duo
decim. fiunt quingenti. quinquaginta duo. Adde & indictiones
anni. cuius uolueris. Ut puta decimam uices semel post con
sulatu basilii iunioris sunt quingenti sexaginta duo. Isti an
ni sunt. ab incarnatione xpi. Hoc tantum memor esto
sollicitus. Ut quotiens quintam decimam compleueris
indictionem quo argumentum possit integrum custodi
ri. quindecim non adsumas sed ad primam summam

Page A, and on page 4 that of our Page B, he would have left for the two inner pages (2, 3) not, as has been stated, *half* the amount of text which they would contain but rather exactly the 116 lines which their four columns, each of 29 lines, would require. If, then, the double leaf¹ to which Pages A and B belonged was in fact discarded,² some other cause, as yet undiscovered, must have brought about its rejection.

BERNARD M. PEEBLES

¹ Or "double-leaves," if the arrangement outlined above, p. 261, lines 26 ff., was being followed. When a single double-leaf, cut in two, could have served as the pasted *feuilles de garde* for the manuscript in question, it is less likely that two double-leaves would have been selected from the reject-pile, each to have been cut in half.

² The absence in the imprint of initials at the beginnings of the lines (see p. 248) does suggest an unfinished job and probably rejected work. Possibly, however, the red ink in which the initials might have been traced showed greater affinity for the original parchment surface than did the black or brown ink of the text and was therefore not transferred to the covers. Here is another problem (see p. 234) for the chemically instructed student of *Spiegelschriftwesen* to explore.

Whether our scribe was following Rule II (see above, p. 260) is not certain. If he was, then Pages A and B, if belonging to the innermost double-leaf, would have formed the smoother flesh-side and hence have been less retentive of the ink applied to them.

CORRIGENDA

P. 248, line 16: for "92" read "93." P. 249, n. 4: Add the qualifications supplied by Paul Lehmann in the Grabmann *Festschrift* (*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Philos. u. Theol. d. Mittelalters*, Supplementband III¹ [1935], 49-51). P. 257: Dom Wilmart, *catal. cit.*, does not generally rely upon his diagram alone to show how many *bifolia* were ruled at a time. This information, when supplied, is regularly expressed in words.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE
OF PH.D., 1937-1938

MADISON SCOTT BEELER. *The Phonology of Venetic*.¹

WE UNDERSTAND by Venetic the language of about 200 short inscriptions found in what is now the Italian province of the Veneto and the Austrian province of Carinthia and to be dated probably between the sixth and the first centuries B.C. This name is applied to it because we are informed by the ancient authors that the people who lived in this region were called the Veneti. This people is ordinarily identified with the “. . . Ἰλλυριῶν Ἑνετοῖς . . .” of Herodotus (I 196), and hence the language of the inscriptions, certainly Indo-European, is generally regarded as being Illyrian. Pauli believed that this connection was confirmed by certain agreements which he observed as existing between Venetic and Illyrian nomenclature. Now although Venetic is an Indo-European language, it differs profoundly in a number of very important phonological and morphological characteristics from Messapic, the only reasonably certain descendant of ancient Illyrian, our knowledge of which is not limited to proper names, and therefore this traditional Illyrian relationship has more than once been doubted. Messapic changes IEu. *ō* to *ǎ*: Venetic keeps IEu. *ō* and *ǎ* distinct; the treatment of the IEu. *mediae aspiratae* is widely divergent in the two languages.

Only twice has Venetic received a comprehensive treatment as a whole (Pauli, *Altitalische Forschungen*, v.3, Leipzig, 1891; Conway, *Prae-Italic Dialects*, part I, London and Cambridge [Mass.], 1933), and our knowledge of the dialect has been considerably increased since Pauli's time by the discovery of new material and by the contributions contained in several articles on the subject. With this new evidence taken into account it seemed opportune to subject the whole material to a renewed examination in order to determine whether a more satisfactory conclusion about the linguistic affinities of the dialect might be drawn.

Since our knowledge of Venetic is so scanty and since the number of different grammatical forms preserved is strictly limited, this prob-

¹ Degree in Comparative Philology, 1936.

lem was best approached from the phonological side. It was necessary first to ascertain as accurately as possible what sounds were to be attributed to the letters of the Venetic alphabet, and what the etymological values of these sounds were. Each Venetic letter receives, therefore, a separate treatment, and its approximate phonetic value is determined by the comparison of the words in which it occurs with corresponding words written in the Latin alphabet, the value of whose symbols is known more or less accurately from other sources. In a second section, under each sound, etymologies involving the sound in question which seemed plausible from a semantic and a phonological point of view are discussed.

From this examination the following conclusions concerning the alphabet have been reached. Sommer's interpretation of the symbol $\cdot|\cdot$ ($\text{r}|\text{r}$) as having a double value, i.e., that of $\cdot\text{i}\cdot$ as well as that of h , is confirmed. The alternating use of t and θ is described and regarded as reflecting merely a local difference in spelling due to levelling in different directions: θ is used for the voiceless dental stop at Padua, t for the same sound at Este and elsewhere. The value of ϕ , z , and χ as b , d , and g is reasserted, and the arguments of Sommer for their value as spirants rejected as being based on the insufficient ground of orthography: we cannot draw certain conclusions about phonetic values from the fact that the sounds in question are represented by particular letters. The Veneti would have been forced to make some changes in the alphabet which they took over from the Etruscans, if their language did possess voiced unaspirated stops, since Etruscan writing did not use the letters b , d , and g . That Venetic did have such sounds is rendered quite probable by transcriptions of Venetic words containing these letters into the Latin alphabet and by the etymological evidence. The practically identical value of *san* and *sigma* is determined, and the interpretation of the spelling *-ts-* in *vha ϕ ah ϕ tsa* and *iiuva \cdot n \cdot tsa* as representing an assibilation of t followed by consonantal \dot{i} is rejected since such an assibilation does not take place in precisely similar conditions in other words (*re \cdot i \cdot tiia \cdot i \cdot* , *iuva \cdot n \cdot tiio \cdot i \cdot*). Vetter's interpretation of the puncts, namely that vowels not immediately preceded by a consonant and the final consonants of syllables (with certain exceptions, listed by Vetter) are provided with puncts, is accepted.

On the basis of such a sound-system we are able to make some definite statements about the Venetic phonetic system. The vocalism, which is remarkably well preserved, keeps the three primary vowels of IEu. (*ě*, *ǫ*, *ǎ*) distinct, agreeing in this respect with Greek, Armenian, Italic, and Keltic. The IEu. diphthongs are also well preserved; the only change that was observed was that of *ěu* to *ǫu*, a change which Venetic shows in common with Italic. There is no syncope of medial or final short vowels, Venetic agreeing in this respect with the oldest Latin and differing markedly from Oscan and Umbrian. The IEu. distinction between long and short vowels is apparently preserved, and frequently is indicated by the special device of inserting an *h* after a long vowel. IEu. post-consonantal *ǰ* appears to be vocalized.

In its consonant-system Venetic shows important modifications of the IEu. state of affairs: *bh* is represented initially as *f*, medially as *b*; and *dh* initially as *f*, medially as *d*. A final nasal consonant appears as *n*. The IEu. palatals are preserved as stops. *N* is lost before *s* and occasionally before *t*. Final *s* is occasionally lost. The sound-groups *ks* and *kt* are preserved.

Now these characteristics taken as a whole can be paralleled in only one other Indo-European language — Latin; and in Latin — not in Oscan or in Umbrian, and much less in Messapic or any other more distantly related dialect — each of them (with the exception of final *m > n*) is attested. And with this phonological evidence agree in every particular those morphological characteristics of Venetic which we can establish: the genitive singular of *ǫ*-stems in *ī*; the dat.-abl. pl. ending *-bos*, Lat. *-bus*; the nom. sg. of *n*-stems in *-o*; the dat. sg. of *i*-stems in *-ei*; the formation of an impersonal passive in *-r*; the secondary middle ending of the 3rd pers. sg. *-to* (cp. Lat. *-tur*, interpreted by Meillet as consisting of this same ending with the addition of the impersonal *-r*); gen. sg. of *ā*-stems en *-as*, Ven. *vhremah·s·tna·s·* and O. Lat. *familias*. Further, it is only in Venetic that we find a cognate for Latin *sānāre* (*sāhnate·i·*) and the use of the noun-stem **leudhero-* in the sense of "children," as in Latin.

In view of these striking resemblances, it seems a much more satisfactory hypothesis to classify Venetic as a member of the Latin-Faliscan group of Italic. The archaeological evidence can easily be

reconciled with this hypothesis. I propose, therefore, to regard the Veneti as speaking an Italic dialect, and as an offshoot of the Latin-Faliscan group of that stock, separated at a very early date from the main Italic-speaking stock which migrated southward, and isolated from the main currents of Italic civilization.

Some new interpretations of Venetic words proposed are: *-kenia* (PID no. 30) 'daughter' (cf. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl, daughter'); *-vhiila* (15) 'daughter' (cf. Lat. *filius*, *filia*); *louki* (143) 'grove' (gen. sg.; cf. Osc. *lúvkei* 'grove'); *e·n·po·l·* (143) 'within' (Gr. ἐντός).

F. STUART CRAWFORD, JR. — *Quo modo Graeci vocales e et o designaverint*

THE object of this thesis is to investigate the ways in which the various local divisions of the Greeks represented the *e* and *o* vowels (ε, η, ει; ο, ω, ου) from earliest times until the final establishment in the fourth century B.C. of the common system of spelling employed in our modern texts, and to draw certain conclusions with regard to the history of individual letters of the alphabet, and with regard to the pronunciation of *e* and *o* vowels in different dialects at different times.

It is hoped that a comprehensive survey of all the evidence, including the considerable amount of material published since the latest standard works on the Greek alphabet and the Greek dialects, may help to settle many disputed points.

The evidence is naturally chiefly that of inscriptions. I have endeavored to examine all the Greek inscriptions so far published from the period in question, as well as representative collections of coins and painted vase legends.

The results tend, in the first place, to confirm the view of Gercke,¹ more especially as developed by Nilsson,² that the vocalic use of H originated with the eastern Ionians as a result of psilosis. The new value could not have arisen in a dialect which preserved Θ as a desig-

¹ *Hermes* XLI (1906) 546.

² *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-fil. Meddelelser* I 6, Kopenhagen 1918, 9.

nation of the rough breathing. And of the psilotic dialects which use vocalic Θ in the earliest inscriptions, only east Ionian had developed (from Indo-European \bar{a}) a new vowel sound which was for some time too near to \bar{a} to be adequately represented by E. The new vowel sign then spread to the Ionian islands (except Euboea), and, after the vowel it represented had become approximately equal in sound to Indo-European \bar{e} (i.e. open \bar{e}), to the Dorian islands, and also to Corinth and Sicyon, where its form was changed from Θ to B and \bar{X} respectively, to distinguish it from the rough breathing, and where it was used also for ϵ , which was more open here than elsewhere. I have endeavored to trace and interpret the complicated history of the peculiar Corinthian distinction between B and E among the colonies and neighbors of Corinth. Much later, after the form Θ had been simplified to H, and after Ω had been invented to correspond to it, these letters gradually spread to the rest of the Greek world.

It is suggested that the unusual development in Cnidos (followed by Melos) of a special sign C for the *close o* vowel was perhaps due to the analogy of the letters E and Θ , of which the sign for the close vowel appeared to be the left half of the sign for the open vowel. Hence the left half of the old sign O was used for close *o*.

The wide-spread but obsolescent use of H to represent the syllable *hě* or *hē* may well be, as urged by Bréal,¹ a unique legacy from the pre-Phoenician syllabic writing of Greece. I suggest it was retained as a distinctive way of spelling sacred names.

There is no good evidence that the Greeks *ever* attempted to distinguish vowel quantity in writing. The distinction in standard Greek spelling of the fourth century and later between E and EI, O and OY, is primarily one of quality, as was the distinction between E and H, O and Ω , the vowels represented by E, O having become slightly more open than those represented by EI, OY. Where, in this period, the short vowels actually were as close as the secondary longs, they were often written EI and OY.

The original quality of the secondary long vowels arising from contraction and compensative lengthening depended on the quality of the shorts from which they arose. The short vowels ϵ and *o* were

¹ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, VI (1889) 209.

originally open. They gradually became close in all dialects, in some before any secondary longs had arisen, but in others only after compensative lengthening had produced open secondary longs, and in others not until contraction also had produced open secondary longs.

There is no good evidence that all secondary longs in all dialects were originally open, as claimed by Meyer, Thumb, and Bechtel.¹ Where they are known to have been open and later to have become closed, the closing either was due to *κοινή* influence, or (where it was too early for this) was shared by the primary longs. Where there is no direct evidence of their having been open, we have no right to assume that they were, unless it can be shown that the primary longs also had become closed.

Specifically it is shown that

I. $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} (i.e. the secondary long vowels) were close from their origin in Ionic, Attic, Phocian, Locrian, Acarnanian, Corinthian, Megarian, and eastern Argolic.

II. They were open from the beginning, and fell together with primary \bar{e} and \bar{o} in Lesbian, Boeotian (so certainly \bar{o} , probably ϵ), Thessalian (probably), Arcadian, Cyprian (?), Achæan (probably), Elean, and Laconian. But subsequently $\bar{\epsilon}$ became close along with primary \bar{e} in Boeotian and Thessalian, and \bar{o} became close along with primary \bar{o} in Thessalian.

III. $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} arising from contraction were originally close, $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} arising from compensative lengthening originally open in Pamphylian (so \bar{o} , probably ϵ), western Argolic, Theran, Melian, Cnidian, Rhodian, Coan, and Cretan, except that the $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} arising from the later lengthening before λ_F , ν_F , ρ_F were close in the Doric islands and Pamphylia. Probably Pamphylian open $\bar{\epsilon}$ later became close along with primary \bar{e} .

In Crete, on the other hand, the originally close $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} later became open. This opening, however, occurred much earlier in Gortyn than elsewhere in Crete. The third century inscriptions from Malla,

¹ Gustav Meyer: *Griechische Grammatik*, third edition, Leipzig 1896, 126-7; Albert Thumb: *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1909, 204 (retained by Kieckers in his revision of 1932, 320); Friedrich Bechtel: *Die Griechischen Dialekte* II, Berlin 1923, 15.

Lato, and Hierapytna in which traces of E and O for contracted \bar{e} and \bar{o} induced Brause,¹ followed by Bechtel² and Kieckers,³ to infer a complete abandonment in Crete of qualitative distinctions between the various *e* and *o* sounds are actually representative of the transition from close to open \bar{e} and \bar{o} , which had taken place much earlier in Gortyn.

The Cretan inscriptions in which the use of H is given up entirely are in a distinct minority. They are confined entirely to Gortyn, and even there the majority of contemporary inscriptions retain H. Its abandonment suggests an attempt at "simplified spelling" which had only a restricted and temporary vogue, to which the adoption of Ionic Ω was no doubt fatal.

Recently published inscriptions perhaps show traces in Crete and Corinth of the stage of writing prior to the adoption of vocalic Θ (B), and in Cyrene of the stage of pronunciation prior to that of open contracted \bar{e} and \bar{o} superimposed by subsequent migrations from Laconia or Crete.

Miscellaneous smaller problems are dealt with, and the readings of various individual inscriptions are criticized with reference to the proper interpretation of the signs used for \bar{e} and \bar{o} vowels.

PAUL LACHLAN MACKENDRICK. — *De gente Attica Eumolpidarum*¹

THE aim of this dissertation has been to present some account of the activity, in the state and in the cult, of the various members of the clan of Attic nobles who called themselves Eumolpidai. The subject has not been discussed exhaustively since the publication in 1889 of Johannes Töpffer's admirable *Attische Genealogie*. The sources are predominantly epigraphical, chiefly the *editio minor* of the *Corpus* of Greek inscriptions, supplemented by the French publications from Delphi and Delos. Kirchner's monumental *Prosopographia Attica* has

¹ Johannes Brause: *Lautehre der Kretischen Dialekte*, Halle 1909, 126-30.

² *Op. cit.* II 681-2.

³ Revised edition of Thumb *op. cit.*, Heidelberg 1932, 151.

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

been indispensable. The literary sources have been discussed so far as they throw light on the inscriptions concerning the Eumolpids, which range from the fifth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

The origin, nature, and administration of the clans in general are first discussed. The dissertation shows that in the period preceding the reforms of Kleisthenes in Athens the nobles, through their clan-organization, exerted influence in Athenian politics, and that the democratic reforms were intended chiefly to break the power of the clans. After Kleisthenes the clans retained their influence in religious matters, but were of only incidental political importance. After the oligarchic reforms at the end of the second century B.C., many *gennetai* held puppet-offices under Roman control.

The clan-cults are next discussed: it is shown that the strict qualifications for holding a priesthood could not always be filled by successive members of a family in a direct line: the *gennetai* then had recourse to the collateral lines, so that a son might hold a priesthood hereditary in his mother's clan. This inheritance from collateral lines tended to blur the distinction — never clear — between clans, so that by the Roman period we find Kerykes holding Eumolpid prerogatives, and Eumolpidai usurping the traditional functions of the Eteoboutadai. The widespread practice of adoption contributed further to the coalescing of the clans.

The origin and administration of the clan of the Eumolpidai are next discussed. Their chief service was the administration of the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. Their chief functionary was the *hierophantes*, or high priest in charge of the mysteries. The importance of his office is shown by the practice of hieronymy, or concealment of the actual name of the *hierophantes* for religious reasons, by literary reference to the dignity of his appearance and to the efficacy of his precept and example, and by official decrees of the Athenian people, by which the *hierophantes* is voted various public honors. A new table of *hierophantai* from 625 B.C. to 375 A.D. is drawn up, and the various names are discussed in detail with the help of genealogical trees. The symbols on late Athenian coins (after 186 B.C.) which represent, in connection with known magistrates' names, objects connected with the cult at Eleusis, offer help in making identifications. One *hierophantes* in particular receives special study, Tiberios Klaudios Oino-

philos, son of Kallikratides of Trikorunthos, who held public offices in Athens in an unofficial *cursus honorum*. It is shown that the offices of hoplite-general and herald of the Areopagus, which were most important in this period, were always held by *gennetai*, especially Eumolpidai and Kerykes. Dittenberger, however, goes too far when he attempts to prove that all the important offices in Athens of the Roman period were reserved for Kerykes. Finally, the demes to which the various *hierophantai* belonged, so far as they are known, are set forth in tabular form, and it is suggested that, while the *hierophantai* were registered in several demes scattered over Attica, most of them probably were originally country gentlemen. Only one Eleusinian is listed: evidently when Athens took Eleusis late in the seventh century the administration of the cult was taken out of Eleusinian hands.

The *hierophantis*, or female consort of the *hierophantes*, is next discussed. The evidence is almost entirely from Roman times. It shows that she observed the use of hieronymy, could marry, that she initiated emperors, and perhaps took part in a mock marriage with the *hierophantes* as the culmination of the Mysteries at Eleusis.

The *exegetai*, or expounders of religious law, were chosen in part from the Eumolpidai: the Eumolpid *exegetai*, whose jurisdiction was over Eleusis, are to be distinguished from the *exegetai* chosen by Apollo, from the *exegetai* of the Mysteries, and from the 'eupatrid' *exegetai*. The question is raised whether 'Eupatrid' was used to refer to a single clan or to the Athenian patricians in general: it is decided, on the evidence of the Pythais inscriptions on the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, that in general the term 'Eupatrid' might refer to both, but that the eupatrid *exegetai* were chosen from the *gennetai* at large.

Finally, the curators of the Mysteries, of whom one was traditionally a Eumolpid, are discussed: inscriptions show that there were two, not (as Aristotle says) four, of whom one was a Eupatrid (not necessarily a Eumolpid), the other an ordinary citizen.

The work concludes with a list of inscriptions to the interpretation of which the present dissertation makes further contributions.

The study as a whole shows how a conservative aristocracy, barred from direct political influence in a society predominantly democratic, nevertheless, throughout a millennium, maintained religious prerogatives through which it continued to exert great influence.

FRANCIS REDDING WALTON. — *De dis Syriis apud Graecos cultis*

THE primary purpose of this study is to collect and examine all the available evidence for the worship of Syrian gods by and among the Greeks in the Hellenistic period. The term Syrian has been interpreted to include Phoenician but not Jewish cults; occasionally cults from other parts of the Semitic world, as from Arabia, have been mentioned. The contemporary evidence for this period consists almost entirely of inscriptions, and the authors are therefore adduced only when they throw light on questions raised by the inscriptions.

The first chapter treats several problems of the pre-Hellenistic period that seemed to be of special interest. I have here considered the cult of Cyprian Aphrodite, which was, I feel, primarily of Phoenician origin. I have tried to demonstrate the presence of certain Semitic features in the cult of Aphrodite at Corinth, and in other places where the goddess was called *Οὐρανία*, and to show that these features can best be explained by the connection with Cyprus and Phoenicia. The question of Heracles-Melkarth, with special reference to Thasos, is treated, and the statements of Herodotus and Pausanias are examined in the light of recent archaeological discoveries. The evidence for the cult of Adonis is summarized at the end of this chapter.

The second and third chapters present the evidence for the several cults, place by place, in the Hellenistic world, only Sicily, Magna Graecia, and Syria itself being omitted.

Phoenician cults were the first to appear, and are chiefly notable for the fact that the organizations were as a rule exclusively private, and that no effort was made to proselytize. Rather the cults were set up and shrines built solely to meet the religious needs and to preserve the cultural unity of a particular group of Tyrians, Berytians, Ascalonians, etc., as the case might be, who were resident in a Greek city.

Atargatis, on the other hand, the "Syrian goddess" *par excellence*, whose chief seat was Hieropolis-Bambyce, in northeastern Syria, possessed a much more cosmopolitan appeal. Her cult first appears in the Greek world in the last quarter of the third century, when it is attested for Macedonia, Aetolia, Egypt, and, soon after, Messenia. The worshippers are chiefly Greeks, and in several cases the cult was given civic status. We can only infer that the cult was spread by mer-

cenary soldiers and merchants, who had themselves adopted it in Syria, but I suspect that back of the movement lay the prestige of the Seleucids; for we know that Stratonice rebuilt the temple at Hieropolis. Except for Messenia, in the first century B.C., there is no evidence for mysteries in connection with the cult.

The entire third chapter is devoted to Delos, the only site where temples of these cults have been discovered and excavated. The establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytus is our model for the Phoenician "statio" in this period. The temple of Hadad and Atargatis, which was founded by Hieropolitans, was taken over by the Athenian government, and it is interesting to note that Hadad at once drops into the background. The inscriptions found here are valuable not merely for the history of the cults but for the aid which they give in determining certain problems of Athenian chronology.

At the end of the study, I have drawn up a table of places and cults, with the dates, where these can be ascertained.

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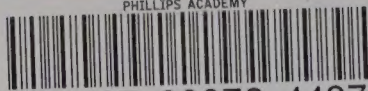
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